





CHURLAND CASTLE.




190



22501733657

Wellcome Library
for the History
and Understanding
of Medicine

WELLCOME
LIBRARY
HI ser
TRA



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2021 with funding from
Wellcome Library

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
HISTORIC SOCIETY
OF
LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

NEW SERIES—VOLUME VIII.

SESSION 1867-68.

LIVERPOOL:
ADAM HOLDEN, 48, CHURCH STREET.

1868.



LIVERPOOL:

T. BRAKELL, PRINTER, COOK STREET.

This Volume has been edited by the Assistant Secretary, under the direction of the Council. The Writers of Papers are solely responsible for the facts and opinions contained in their respective communications.

EXPLANATORY NOTE.

The numerous Woodcuts to the paper "Illustrations of British Antiquities" were supplied by the Author, the Rev. Dr. Hume. The Map in illustration of the "Togography of Aigburth and Garston" was contributed by Mr. Joseph Boulton; and the plate of Specimens of the "Land and Fresh Water Shells of Great Britain" was drawn by the Author of the paper, Mr. Thomas Gibson.

COUNCIL AND OFFICERS FOR 1867-8.

President.

JOSEPH MAYER, F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents.

REV. A. HUME, D.C.L., &c.

| J. A. TINNE Esq., F.R.C.S.

T. G. RYLANDS Esq.

Members of Council.

E. B. BRIGHT, F.R.A.S.

J. H. GENN Esq.

P. R. M'QUIE Esq.

WM. BURKE Esq.

J. H. GIBSON Esq.

W. MATHISON Esq.

T. DAWSON Esq.

T. GIBSON Esq.

T. SANSON F.B.S.E.

E. F. EVANS Esq.

F. J. JEFFERY, F.G.H.S.

H. E. SMITH Esq.

J. A. FORREST Esq.

M. C. JONES Esq.

H. H. VALE, F.R.I.B.A.

Librarian.

NICHOLAS WATERHOUSE Esq., Rake Lane, Liverpool.

Curator.

A. CRAIG GIBSON, F.S.A., Stonesfield, Bebington, Birkenhead.

Treasurer.

JOHN G. JACOB, Esq., 56, Church Street.

Hon. Secretary.

D. BUXTON, F.R.S.L., Oxford Street, Liverpool.

Assistant Secretary.

MR. CHARLES DYALL, Lyceum, Bold Street, Liverpool.

CONTENTS.

[Papers marked thus * are Illustrated.]

	PAGE.
Address to the Members of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., President	1
* Notes upon War Medals, Naval and Military. By J. Harris Gibson, Esq.	13
On the Ancient Castle at Bury, Lancashire. By Charles Hardwick, Esq.	16
The Characteristics of National Growth: A Chapter in Constitutional History. By David Buxton, F.R.S.L., Hon. Sec....	33
* The Lakeland of Lancashire. No. IV.—Yewdale—Tilberthwaite—Little Langdale—Seathwaite. By A. Craig Gibson, F.S.A., Hon. Curator	47
Architectural and Archæological Sketch of the Romano-British Period, with reference to the Excavations at Wroxeter. By Henry H. Vale, F.R.I.B.A.	67
* Archæology in the Mersey District, 1867. By Henry Ecroyd Smith	87
* An Ancient-British Cemetery at Wavertree. By Henry Ecroyd Smith	131
* The Historical Topography of Aigburth and Garston. By Joseph Boulton, F.R.I.B.A.....	147
On the Preparations of the County of Kent to Resist the Spanish Armada. From the MS. Papers of Roger Twisden, Esquire, J.P., and Captain of the Light Horse of the Lathe of Aylsford, A.D. 1585-1596. By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., President.	191
* Illustrations of British Antiquities, derived from Objects found in South America. By the Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L., F.S.A., Vice-President	215
* Land and Fresh-water Shells of Great Britain. By Thos. Gibson	325
List of Members	vii
Proceedings, Twentieth Session	345
Report presented at the Annual Meeting	<i>ib.</i>
Treasurer's Balance Sheet	347
Excursion	356
Additions to the Library	357

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

PLATE	PAGE
I. The Papal Decoration of 1860	to face 15
II. Farm in Tilberthwaite	,, 59
III. Ancient Stone Bridge in Little Langdale	,, 62
IV. Coins, Seals, &c., found in Lancashire and Cheshire, 1867	,, 89
V. Terra Cotta Floor Tile, 14th Century	,, 98
VI. Antiquarian Objects found upon the Sea Beach of Cheshire, 1867	,, 103
VII. Ancient-British Remains found at Wavertree, near Liverpool	,, 131
VIII. Plan of Urn Mount, Wavertree, indicating the position of the Ancient-British Remains	,, 135
IX. Plan of Aigburth and Garston	,, 147
X. Land and Fresh-water Shells	,, 325

LIST OF MEMBERS.

SESSION XIX—1867-68.

The first List was dated 23rd November, 1848; all whose names appeared in it are therefore Original Members. Those who have been enrolled as Mayors or Sheriffs have their year of office attached.

The letter P denotes that the Members, in connexion with whose names it occurs, have read papers before the Society.

Those whose names are printed in SMALL CAPITALS are Members of the Council; and in *Italics* are Life Members.

Those marked thus * are Resident. The post town Liverpool is usually omitted.

A

- 23rd Nov., 1848. *Ainslie, Montague*, Grizedale hall, Hawkshead, Windermere.
- 4th Dec., 1862. *Anderson, John, 42, Bold street.
- 17th Dec., 1857. *Anderson, Thomas Darnley, West Dingle.
- 4th Dec., 1856. Ansdell, John, St. Helens.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Ansdell, Richard, A.R.A., Lytham house, St. Alban's road, Kensington, London, W.
- 15th Sept., 1854. Arrowsmith, P. R., The Ferns, Bolton.
- 2nd Dec., 1858. Artingstall, George, Warrington.
- P. 4th Dec., 1862. Ashfield, Charles Joseph, 9, Regent street, Preston.
- P. 11th May, 1854. Aspland, Rev. R. Brook, M.A., Frampton villas, South Hackney, London.
- H. Sh. Cheshire, 1857. *Atkinson, William*, Ashton hey, Chester.

B

- P. 3rd Jan., 1861. *Baar, Rev. Hermann, Ph.Dr., 4, Chatham place.
- 2nd Nov., 1865. *Bailey, F. J., 51, Grove street.
- 8th June, 1854. *Banning, John Johnson, 20, Castle street.
- 1st Mar., 1866. *Barrow, S., 323, Vauxhall road, and Seaforth.
- 7th Feb., 1861. *Bartlett, William, 22, North John street.
- 1st Dec., 1864. *Bath, John D., Garston.
- 6th March, 1862. *Bazley, Thomas*, M.P., Hayesleigh, Manchester, and Reform Club, London, S.W.
- P. 6th Dec., 1849. Beamont, William, Warrington.

- 21st May, 1857. *Bean, Edwin, Revenue buildings.
- 15th April, 1858. *Bell, Christopher, Back Goree.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. *Bell, Henry, Hamilton square, and Grosvenor road, Claughton, Birkenhead.
- P. 1st Dec., 1864. *Benas, B. L., 5, South Castle street.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. *Bennett, William, Sir Thomas's buildings, and 109, Shaw street.
- 7th March, 1850. Birch, Sir Thomas Bernard, Bart., The Hazles, Prescott.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Birchall, Lieut.-Col. Thomas, Ribbleton hall, Preston.
- 4th March, 1852. Birley, Rev. John Shepherd, Moss Lea, Bolton-le-Moors.
- P. 8th Jan., 1852. Birley, T. Langton, Carr hill, Kirkham.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Blackburne, John Ireland, The Hall, Hale.
- 20th Sept., 1854. Blackmore, William.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. *Blundell, Thomas Weld, Ince Blundell hall, Great Crosby.
- 1st May, 1856. Booth, John Billington, Overleigh house, Preston.
- 15th Dec., 1853. Bossi, Arthur, Paris.
- 3rd Jan., 1856. *Bouch, Thomas, 1, Oldhall street, and New Brighton.
- P. 23rd Nov., 1848. *Boult, Joseph, Exchange buildings West, and Parkfield road, Aigburth road.
- 8th Dec., 1851. Bourne, Cornelius, Stalmine hall, Preston.
- 15th April, 1858. *Bower, Anthony, Vauxhall foundry, & Seaforth.
- 6th Dec., 1855. Bowes, John, Blue Coat School, Warrington.
- 3rd Dec., 1868. Boyle, Henry, Ella House, Ambleside.
- 12th Dec., 1867. Boyle, Frederick, F.R.G.S.
- 13th Nov., 1851. Brackstone, R. H., Lyncombe hill, Bath.
- 17th Dec., 1857. *Bradley, William Gibson, Colquitt street, and 18, Kenyon terrace, Birkenhead.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. *Brakell, Thomas, 7, Cook street, and 23, Richmond terrace, Everton.
- Mayor Liv., 1848-9. *Bramley-Moore, John, Hon. Mem. Archæol. Association, Aigburth.
- 30th Dec., 1854. Brent, Francis, Custom house, Plymouth.
- P. 7th May, 1863. *BRIGHT, E. B., 2, Exchange buildings, and Waterloo.
- P. 9th March, 1854. *Bright Henry Arthur, A.M., Fairfield, and 1, North John street.
- 4th Feb., 1864. Bright, Sir Charles Tilston, M.P., C.E., F.R.S., 12, Hyde park gardens, London.

- 3rd May, 1849. Brooke, Henry, Forest hill, Northwich.
- 6th March, 1851. *Brooke, Sir Richard*, Norton priory, Runcorn.
- 6th Feb., 1868. Brookes, William Cunliffe, Barlow Hall, near Manchester.
- 1st Nov., 1866. Brookes, William Murray, St. James's Schools, Accrington.
- 20th Feb., 1868. Burgess, Rev. W. R., Latchford.
- 11th Sept., 1854. *BURKE, WILLIAM, 17, Bagot street, Smithdown road.
- 17th Sept., 1854. Burnell, Rev. Samuel, A.M., Winwick, Warrington.
- P. 15th Dec., 1853. *BUXTON, DAVID, F.R.S.L., Principal of the Liverpool Deaf and Dumb Institution, Oxford street, HON. SECRETARY.

C

- 23rd Nov., 1848. *Caine, Nathaniel, 12, Dutton street.
- 3rd Dec., 1857. *Calder, Rev. William, A.M., Fairfield.
- 1st Dec., 1859. Callender, W. Romaine, jun., F.S.A., Ashburne house, Rusholme, Manchester.
- P. 6th Dec., 1855. Calvert, F. Grace, Ph.Dr., F.R.S., F.C.S., M.R.A. Turin, Chemical Works, Sutton street, Bradford, near Manchester.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. *Campbell, Rev. Augustus, A.M., The Vicarage, Childwall.
- 18th Dec., 1856. *Campbell, Wm., Captain & Adjutant R.L.M.A., Artillery barracks, Rupert lane.
- 3rd Dec., 1868. Cape, John, 22, North street.
- 3rd Dec., 1857. *Chadburn, Charles Henry, 71, Lord street, and Egremont, Birkenhead.
- H. Sh. Chesh., 1855-6. *Chapman, John*, M.P., Hill End, Mottram in-Longdendale.
- 14th April, 1859. *Clement, Leonard*, Nelson-in-Marsden, near Burnley.
- P. 24th May, 1855. *Comber, Thomas*, Hargreaves buildings, Chapel street.
- 6th Dec., 1849. *Crosfield, Henry, 4, Temple place, and Edge mount, Edge lane.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Crosse, Thomas Bright, Shawe hill, Chorley.
- 2nd May, 1850. Crossley, James, F.S.A., President of the Chetham Society, 6, Booth street, Piccadilly, Manchester.
- P. 23rd Nov., 1848. *Cust, General the Hon. Sir Edward, K.C.H., D.C.L., F.R.S., Leasowe Castle, Cheshire, Claremont, Surrey, and Hill street, London.

D

- 23rd Sept., 1854. *Davies, Comenius, 8, Kinglake street.
- P. 3rd March, 1864. *Davies, John, 6, Kinglake street.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. *Dawson, Henry, 30, Redcross street, and 15, St. James's road
- P. 2nd May, 1850. *Dawson, Thomas, M.R.C.S. Eng., 26, Rodney st.
- 23rd April, 1857. *Devonshire, His Grace the Duke of*, K.G., D.C.L., F.R.S., Chatsworth, Derbyshire, and Devonshire house, London.
- P. 7th March, 1853. *Dove, Percy M., F.S.S., F.I.A., Royal Insurance office, 1, North John street, and Castledon lodge, Claughton road, Birkenhead.
- 4th Nov., 1858. *Drysdale, C. Alexander, 7, Elm terrace, Fairfield.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. *Duarte, Ricardo Thomaz, 2, Royal Bank buildings.

E

- 9th Jan., 1868. Ellerbeck, J. T., Bold street.
- 12th Dec., 1867. Elsby, Miles Pilling, Bebington.
- 9th Dec., 1852. *Eckersley, Thomas*, Wigan.
- 6th March, 1862. *Edwards, Edward, Adelaide buildings, Chapel street, and Holly lodge, Fairfield.
- 6th March, 1862. Egerton, Hon. Algernon, M.P., Worsley Old hall, Manchester.
- 7th Jan., 1851. *Egerton, Hon. Wilbraham*, M.P., Rosthern hall, Knutsford.
- 6th March, 1862. *Egerton of Tatton, Rt. Hon. the Lord*, Tatton park, Knutsford.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. *Egerton, Sir Philip de Malpas Grey*, Bart., M.P., F.R.S., F.G.S., Oulton park, Tarporley.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. *Evans, Edward, 56, Hanover street.
- th Nov., 1858. *EVANS, EDWARD FRANCIS, Revenue buildings.
- 8th Nov., 1849. *Evans, Thomas Bickerton, 56, Hanover street.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. *Ewart, Joseph Christopher, 64, Pall Mall, London, and New Brighton.
- 6th May, 1852. *Ewart, William*, M.P., 6, Cambridge square, Hyde park, London, and Broadleas, Devizes.

F

- 7th Feb., 1861. *Fabert, J. O. W., 3, St. James's walk.
- 3rd Dec., 1857. Fairbairn, William, F.R.S., Manchester.
- Ffarrington, Miss, Wardon Hall, Preston.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. *Finlay, William, Liverpool College.

15th April, 1858. *FORREST, J. A., 58, Lime street, and 5, Charlesville, Claughton, Birkenhead.

7th May, 1857. *Frackelton*, Rev. S. S., A.M., Ballynahinch, Ireland.

15th Dec., 1853. Franks, Augustus Woollaston, A.M., F.S.A., British Museum, London.

7th Jan., 1858. Frost, Meadows, 25, The Albany, Oldhall street, and St. John's house, Chester.

G

14th Dec., 1848. *Gardner, Richard Cardwell, Colonial buildings, 34, Dale street; Beechfield, 5, Croxteth road, Prince's park.

3rd May, 1849. Garnett, Wm. J., Quernmore park, Lancaster.

23rd Nov., 1848. *Gaskell, John Rooth, Exchange court, Exchange street East.

11th April, 1867. *Genn, John Hawke, 37, Elizabeth street.

18th Dec., 1856. *Gerard, Henry, 10, Rumford place.

P. 20th Nov., 1856. *GIBSON, A. CRAIG, F.S.A., Stonesfield, Bebington, Birkenhead, Hon. CURATOR.

P. 1st May, 1862. *GIBSON, J. H., 144, Vauxhall road.

P. 5th Nov., 1863. *GIBSON, THOMAS, 37, Oxford street.

6th March, 1862. *Gladstone*, Right Hon. W. E., M.P., 11, Carlton house terrace, London, S.W.

4th Dec., 1862. *Goodier, Thomas, 9, Lord street.

19th Dec., 1852. *Graves, Samuel Robert, M.P., 13, Redcross st.

6th Feb., 1851. Gray, Lieut.-Colonel, M.P., Darcy Lever hall, Bolton.

4th Dec., 1862. *Green*, John Henry, Buenos Ayres.

16th Sept., 1854. Greene, John Stock Turner, Adlington hall, Chorley.

31st Aug., 1854. Grenside, Rev. William Bent, A.M., Melling Vicarage, Lancaster.

19th March, 1857. *Grimmer, W. Henry, Prince's buildings, 30, North John street.

13th March, 1862. Grosvenor, Rt. Hon. the Earl, M.P., Calveley, Tarporley.

H

1st Dec., 1864. *Haigh, Thomas, 47, Boundary lane.

21st May, 1857. *Hall, Charlton R., 19, Dale street, and Liscard castle, Birkenhead.

10th Dec., 1857. *Hancock, Thomas S., Sweeting street, and Birkenhead.

P. 6th March, 1856. Hardwick, Chas., 148, Embden street, Hulme, Manchester.

- 12th Jan., 1854. *Harrison, Wm.*, F.S.A., F.G.S., F.R.S.N. Antiq., &c., Samlesbury hall, Preston; Conservative Club, St. James's, S.W.; and R.T.Y. Club, Albemarle street, W.
- 9th Feb., 1864. *Harrowby, Rt. Hon. the Earl of*, D.C.L., F.R.S., Sandon hall, Staffordshire, and 39, Grosvenor square, London.
- 23rd April, 1857. *Hartington, Most Noble the Marquess of*, M.P., Chatsworth, Derbyshire, & Devonshire house, London.
- 10th Feb., 1853. **Hartley, John Bernard*.
- P. 11th Oct., 1854. **Hartnup, J.*, F.R.A.S., Liverpool Observatory, Bidston, Birkenhead.
- 14th April, 1864. **Haughton, Thomas*.
- 8th Dec., 1864. *Heald, Thomas*, Greenfield, Billinge, Wigan.
- 27th Sept., 1854. **Healey, Samuel R.*, Westbank, Woolton.
- 24th Oct., 1854. *Heginbottom, George*, Birkdale park, Southport.
- 2nd April, 1868. *Hewitt, James*, 1, Dover street.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. *Heywood, James*, F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S., 26, Kensington Palace Gardens, London, W.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. *Heywood, Sir Benjamin*, Bart., F.R.S., F.S.S., Claremont, Manchester.
- P. 23rd Nov., 1848. *Heywood, Thomas*, F.S.A., Hope end, Ledbury, Herefordshire.
- P. 12th Sept., 1854. *Higgins, Rev. Henry H.*, A.M., Rainhill.
- P. 8th Dec., 1851. *Hinde, John Hodgson*, Stelling hall, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
- 23rd Sept., 1854. *Hindmarsh, Fred.*, F.G.S., F.R.G.S., Bucklersbury, London.
- 12th Jan., 1860. **Holden, Adam*, 48, Church street.
- 18th Jan., 1866. **Holden R.*, 57, Dale street.
- 18th Dec., 1856. *Holden, Thomas*, Springfield, Bolton.
- 24th Sept., 1854. **Holt, William D.*, 23, Edge lane.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. **Horsfall, Thomas Berry*, M.P., Bellamour hall, Staffordshire.
- 6th Dec., 1860. **Houghton, James*, 84, Rodney street.
- 14th April, 1853. **Houghton, Richard H., jun.*, Sandheys, Waterloo.
- 4th Dec., 1856. **Howell, Edward*, 26, Church street.
- Mayor Lan., 1849-50. *Howitt, Thomas*, Lancaster.
- P. 8th Nov., 1849. *Howson, Rev. John Saul*, D.D., Dean of Chester.
- 27th Sept., 1854. **Hubback, Joseph*, 15, Brunswick street, and Rodney street
- P. 10th Dec., 1857. **Hughes, John R.*, 17, Tower chambers.

- 16th Sept., 1854. *Hughes, J. B., 5, Wesley place, and 4, Clayton square.
- 1st Nov., 1866. *Hughes, Lewis, 38, San Domingo grove.
- 6th April, 1854. Hughes, Thomas, 2, Groves terrace, Chester.
- 8th Feb., 1862. Hulton, William Adams, Hurst grange, Preston.
- Mayor Ch. 1851-52. Humberston, Philip Stapleton, Chester.
- P. 23rd Nov., 1848. **Hume, Rev. Abraham*, D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A., F.S.S., F.R.S. North. Ant. Copenhagen, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot., Hon. Mem. of the Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 4, Rupert lane, VICE-PRESIDENT.
- 21st May, 1857. *Hume, Hamilton*, F.R.G.S., Cooma, Yass, New South Wales.
- 9th Dec., 1853. *Hutchison, Robert.

J

- 1st April, 1852. *JACOB, JOHN GIBBORN, 56, Church street, TREASURER.
- 5th Dec., 1861. Jackson, William, Fleatham house, St. Bees.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Jacson, Charles R., Barton hall, Preston.
- P. 2nd May, 1861. *JEFFERY, F. J., 45, Church street, and Woolton-hall.
- 21st May, 1857. *Jeffery, James Reddecliff, 45, Church street, and Woolton hall.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Johnson, John H., 7, Church street, and Southport.
- 23rd Sept., 1854. Jones, Edward, The Larches, Handsworth.
- 3rd Jan., 1861. *Jones, George, 36, Hanover street.
- 3rd May, 1849. *JONES, MORRIS CHARLES, 20, Abercromby square.
- 2nd Dec., 1858. *Jones, Robert, 7, Batchelor street.
- 6th Dec., 1849. *Jones, Roger L., 1, Belvidere road, Prince's park.
- 15th Sept., 1854. Jones, Thomas, B.A., Chetham Library, Manchester.
- 11th Dec., 1856. Jones, W. Hope, Hooton, Chester.
- 9th Jan., 1868. Jones, Rev. Charles, Rock Ferry.

K

- 5th Dec., 1861. Kendal, John, Fishergate, Preston.
- P. 3rd May, 1849. Kendrick, James, M.D., Warrington.
- 11th Dec., 1856. Kershaw, James, M.P., Oaklands, Victoria park, Manchester.
- 5th March, 1868. Kilpin, J. T., 6, Grove street.
- 4th Dec., 1862. *King, Lieut.-Col. Vincent Ashfield, 18, Tower chambers, and Point of Ayr, Oxtun.
- 5th Nov., 1863. *King, John Thomson, Clayton square.

L

- 6th March, 1862. *Laird, John, M.P., Hamilton square, Birkenhead.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Langton, William, Manchester.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Legh, G. Cornwall, M.P., High Legh, Knutsford.
- 1st Dec., 1859. *Legh, W. J.*, Lyme park, Disley, Stockport.
- 10th Dec., 1857. *Leigh, Major Egerton*, The West hall, High Leigh, Knutsford.
- Leigh, Miss, The Limes, Hale.
- 1st Nov., 1866. *Lilley, John H., Henderley villa, Merton road, Bootle.
- 4th March, 1858. Lindsay, Right Hon. the Lord, M.P., Haigh hall, Wigan.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Lingard, Alexander Rowson, Hooton, Chester.

M

- 6th March, 1862. McCorquodale, Lieut.-Colonel G., Newton-le-Willows.
- 15th April, 1858. *McInnes, J., 23, Lightbody street.
- 27th Sept., 1854. *Macfie, Robert Andrew, 30, Moorfields, and Ashfield hall, Neston.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. *M'QUIE, PETER ROBINSON, 9, Brunswick street, and Thornton lodge, Merton road, Bootle.
- 5th May, 1853. **Macrae, John Wrigley*, 22, Hackin's hey, and Seaforth house, Seaforth.
- 3rd Jan., 1849. *Manchester, the Lord Bishop of*, F.R.S., F.G.S., Mauldeth hall, Manchester.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. *Marsden, George, Vernon priory, Edge hill.
- 1st Dec., 1859. Marsh, John, Rann lea, Rainhill.
- p. 5th June, 1851. Marsh, John Fitchett, Fairfield house, Warrington.
- 1st Dec., 1864. Marson, James, Warrington.
- 1st Dec., 1864. *Mathews, John, Highfield, Rock Ferry, Birkenhead.
- 6th March, 1862. *MATHISON, WM., 1, Adelaide terrace, Waterloo.
- p. 23rd Nov., 1848. *MAYER, JOSEPH, F.S.A., M.R. Asiat. S., F.E.S., F. R. S. North. Ant. Copenhagen, Associé étranger de la Société Impériale des Antiquaires de France, Hon. Mem. SS. Anti., Normandie, l'Ouest, la Morinie, Société d'Emulation d'Abbeville, &c., 68, Lord street, PRESIDENT.
- 7th Dec., 1865. *Miller, Henry, Toxteth dock.

- 2nd Jan., 1862. Milligan, James, jun., Eldwood end, Grassendale, Aigburth.
- 21st Feb., 1861. Mills, John, Middle School, Warrington.
- 20th May, 1860. Mills, Robert, F.S.A., F.G.S., 27, Promenade, Rochdale.
- P. 21st Dec., 1854. *Milner, William, 322, Upper Parliament street, and Phoenix Safe Works, Windsor.
- 3rd Dec., 1857. Moore, Rev. Richard R., A.M., Bewsey street, Warrington.
- P. 8th Nov., 1849. Moore, Rev. Thomas, A.M., Midleton College, County Cork.
- P. 23rd Nov., 1848. *Moss, Rev. John James, A.M., Upton, Cheshire.
- P. 7th March, 1850. *Mott, Albert J., 21, South Castle street, and 51, Rodney street.
- 3rd Dec., 1863. Moubert, Adolphus, Garswood-Ashton, Warrington.
- 3rd Dec., 1857. Moulton, William, 21, Leigh street, and Knowsley.
- 21st May, 1857. *Mozley, Charles, Beaconsfield, Woolton.
- 11th Dec., 1856. Myres, John James, Bank parade, Preston.

N

- H.S. Ches. 1857. *Naylor, Richard*, Hooton hall, Chester.
- P. 1st Nov., 1866. Newbigging, Thomas, Bacup.
- 19th March, 1863. Newsham, Richard, Preston.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Nicholson, James, F.S.A., Thelwall hall, Warrington.
- 29th Sept., 1854. *Nottingham, John, M.D., F.R.A.S., F.R.S., Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen, 20, Roscommon street.

O

- P. 6th Dec., 1849. Ormerod, George, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S., Sedbury park, Chepstow.
- 3rd Jan., 1850. *Overend, James, 55, Hope street.
- 3rd Dec., 1857. Oxley, Frederick, 6, Hungerford road, London, N.

P

- 23rd Nov., 1858. *Paris, Thomas Jeremiah, 68, Lord street.
- 18th Dec., 1856. Parker, Robert Townley, Cuerdon hall, Preston.
- 7th March, 1850. *Patten, Right Hon. John Wilson*, M.P., Bank hall, Warrington.
- 6th Dec., 1849. Pearce, George Massie, Hackin's hey, and Ormskirk.

- 11th Dec., 1856. *Pedder, Henry Newsham*, 9, Queen's gate, Prince Albert road, South Kensington, London, S.
- 1st Dec., 1864. *Perry, Rev. S. G. F.*, Incumbent of Tottington, near Bury.
- 21st March, 1860. **Petty, Thomas Shaw*.
- 12th Dec., 1867. *Pickering, James*, Fisher house, Orrell.
- P. 6th Jan., 1849. **Picton, James Allanson*, F.S.A., Queen Insurance buildings, Dale street, and Sandyknowe, Wavertree.
- 3rd May, 1849. *Pierpoint, Benjamin*, St. Austin's, Warrington.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. *Pilkington, James*, Park pl. House, Blackburn.
- 10th Feb., 1853. *Platt, Robert*, Stalybridge.
- 1st Dec., 1864. **Porter, John*, Clayton square.
- 12th March, 1857. **Preston, Geo. Theo. Robert*, 13, Vernon street, Dale street, and Rock house, West Derby road.
- 6th Dec., 1849. **Preston, William*, 13, Vernon street, and Rock house, West Derby road.
- 44th Jan., 1864. **Priest, Thomas E.*, Clarendon rooms, South John street.

R

- 15th March, 1849. *Rawlinson, Robert*, C.B., C.E., F.G.S., Sanitary Commissioner, Local Government Act Office, 8, Richmond terrace, Whitehall; Lancaster lodge, Boltons, West Brompton; and Reform Club, London, S.W.
- 13th Sept., 1854. **Raynes, James Trevelyan*, 37, Oldhall street, and Rock park, Rock Ferry.
- 29th Dec., 1854. *Rees, William*, Old Trafford, Manchester.
- 3rd Dec., 1863. *Rhodocanakis, H. H.* the Prince, Manchester.
- 20th Dec., 1855. *Robin, Rev. P. R.*, A.M., Woodchurch, Birkenhead.
- 23rd Nov. 1848. **Robinson, Charles* Backhouse.
- 1st Dec., 1864. **Robinson, John*, 41, Lord street.
- 3rd Jan., 1850. **Ronald, Robert Wilson*, 19, Dale street.
- 15th April, 1858. *Rooke, Rev. W. J. E.*, Tunstal Vicarage, Kirby Lonsdale.
- 15th April, 1858. *Rowlinson, W.*, Windermere
- 25th Sept., 1854. *Rylands, Peter*, Bewsey house, Warrington.
- P. 13th Dec., 1854. *RYLANDS, THOMAS GLAZEBROOK*, F.L.S., F.G.S., Warrington, VICE-PRESIDENT.

S

- 6th Dec., 1855. **Sandbach, W. R.*, Bank buildings, Cook street, and The Cottage, Aigburth.

- P. 7th Sept., 1851. *SANSOM, THOMAS, F.B.S.E.
 8th Jan., 1852. Sharp, John, The Hermitage, Lancaster.
 2nd June, 1853. *Sharpe, William*, 102, Piccadilly, London.
 23rd Nov., 1848. Sharpe, Edmund, A.M., Cwm Alyn, Llanrwst, North Wales.
 1st Nov., 1866. Shaw, Rev. J., The Castle, Southport.
 14th May, 1868. Sillitoe, Joseph, 13, Elliott street.
 23rd Nov., 1848. *Simpson, Rev. Samuel*, A.M., The Greaves, near Lancashire.
- P. 16th April, 1863. *SMITH, HENRY ECROYD, Aldboro' house, Egremont, Birkenhead.
 2nd May, 1850. **Smith, James*, Seaforth.
 16th Sept., 1864. Smith, John, Langley, near Macclesfield.
 20th Feb., 1868. Smith, Samuel, jun., 8, Croxteth road, Prince's park.
 12th March, 1863. *Squarey, Andrew Tucker, Apsley villas, Lower Bebington.
 2nd Nov., 1854. Stainer, William, Old Trafford, Manchester.
 3rd Jan., 1856. *Staniforth, Rev. Thomas*, Storrs, Windermere.
 6th March, 1862. *Stanley, The Lord*, M.P., Knowsley hall, Lancashire, and 23, Saint James's square, London, S.W.
 5th Feb., 1863. Steele, Alexander, Ph.Dr., Bay View house, The Crescent, Douglas, Isle of Man.
 13th Dec., 1855. *Steiner, F.*, Hyndburn, Accrington.
 4th March, 1852. *Sykes, James, 115, Dale street, 78, Rodney street, and Breck house, Poulton-le-fylde.

T

- 18th Feb., 1858. *Thompson, Henry, 153, Upper Parliament street, and 11, North John street.
 13th Sept., 1854. *Thornely, Samuel, Deane road, Fairfield.
 17th Jan., 1867. *Thorp, Henry*, Whalley Range, Manchester.
- P. 8th Dec., 1851. *TINNE, JOHN A., F.R.G.S., Briarley, Aigburth, VICE-PRESIDENT.
 8th Jan., 1852. *Torr, John, D6, Exchange buildings, and Eastham.
- H.S. Lanc., 1857. Towneley, Charles, Towneley, Burnley.
- P. 2nd April, 1857. *Towson, John Thomas, F.R.G.S., 47, Upper Parliament street, and Sailors' Home.
 14th April, 1863. *Turner, Charles, M.P., 4, Lancelot's hey, and Dingle head.

- 27th Sept., 1854. *Turner, John Hayward, 23, Abercromby square.
 6th Dec., 1849. Turner, Edward, High street, Newcastle, Staffordshire.

U

- 8th March, 1854. Underwood, Rev. Charles W., A.M.

V

- p. 7th Feb., 1867. *VALE, H. H., 17, South Castle street.
 23rd Nov., 1848. *Varty, Thomas, Stag-stones, Penrith.
 14th April, 1853. *Vose, James, M.D., 5, Gambier terrace, Hope street.

W

- Myr. C. 1838-39, 48-49. *Walker, Sir Edward Samuel*, Berry hill, Mansfield, Notts.
 11th Dec., 1856. *Walmsley, Thomas*, Preston.
 6th March, 1851. Warburton, Rowland Eyles Egerton, Arley hall, Cheshire,
 21st May, 1857. Ward, John Angus, Hooton Lodge, Chester.
 3rd May, 1864. *Waterhouse, John Dockray, 1, Oldhall street.
 p. 5th Dec., 1861. *WATERHOUSE, NICHOLAS, Rake lane, HONORARY LIBRARIAN.
 17th Dec., 1857. Watts, Sir James, Manchester.
 2nd May, 1850. *Way, Albert*, A.M., F.S.A., Wonham manor, Reigate, Surrey.
 1st Feb., 1849. *Webster, George, 6, York buildings, Dale street, and Mosley hill, Aigburth.
 p. 3rd Jan., 1856. *Welton, Thomas A.*, F.S.S., 91, Mortimer road, De Beauvoir square, London, N.
 2nd June, 1853. *Whitley, George, 5, Clayton square, and Bromborough.
 9th Oct., 1854. Whitley, Rev. John, A.M., Newton rectory, Newton-le-Willows.
 6th June, 1850. Whitley, Rev. William, B.A., Catsclough, Winsford, Cheshire.
 p. 30th Nov., 1854. Wilkinson, Thomas Turner, F.R.A.S., Corr. Mem. Lit. and Phil. Soc. Manch., Burnley.
 14th Feb., 1861. Wilson, J. M., Hardshaw street, St. Helens.
 13th Nov., 1866. *Winder, Thomas, Coniston House, Walton.
 23rd Nov., 1848. Wood, Isaac Moreton, Newton, near Middlewich.
 7th Dec., 1865. *Wood, R. H.*, F.S.A., F.R.G.S., Corr. Mem. Soc. Antiq. de Normandie, Crumpsall, Manchester.

- 7th May, 1855. **Woodhouse, John George*, Bronté house, Everton valley.
 14th May, 1868. Wordley, W. G., 15, Sweeting street.
 11th Jan., 1866. **Wright, James Powell*, 23, York terrace.
-

HONORARY MEMBERS.

- 6th Feb., 1851. Akerman, John Yonge, Hon. M.R.S.L.,; F.S.A. Newcastle; F.R.S. of Northern Antiquities; Corr. Mem. SS. Antiq. Scot., France, Russia, Switzerland, Rome; Hon. Mem. Roy. Acad., Stockholm; Somerset House, London.
- 27th Sept., 1854. Babington, Charles Cardale, A.M., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.L.S., Professor of Botany, Cambridge.
- 6th Feb., 1851. Blaauw, William Henry, A.M., F.S.A., Beechland, Uckfield.
- 6th Feb., 1851. Boileau, Sir John P., Bart., F.R.S., F.S.A., Ketteringham hall, Wyndham, Norfolk, and 20, Upper Brook street, Grosvenor square, London.
- 1st Nov., 1860. Brown, James, New York, U.S.A.
- 6th Feb., 1851. Charlton, Edward, M.D., F.S.A. Newc., 7, Eldon square, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
- P. 1st Feb., 1855. Clarke, Joseph, F.S.A., Saffron Walden, Essex.
- 19th May, 1859. Cochet, M. L'Abbé, Inspector of Antiquities and Monuments in Normandy, Dieppe.
- 27th Sept., 1854. Gray, John Edward, Ph.D., F.R.S., F.L.S., V.P.Z.S., Pres. Entom. Soc., &c., British Museum, London.
- P. 27th Sept., 1854. Latham, R. Gordon, M.D., F.R.S.
- 9th Dec., 1852. MacAdam, Robert, 18, College square East, Belfast.
- 27th Sept., 1854. Murchison, Sir Roderick Impey, G.C. St. S., A.M., D.C.L., F.R.S., V.P.L.S., F.G.S., P.R. Geogr. S., Hon. M.R.I.A., Director-General of the Geological Survey of Great Britain and Ireland; Trust. Brit. Mus.; Hon. Mem. Acad. St. Petersburg, Berlin, Copenhagen; Corr. Mem. Inst. France, &c., 16, Belgrave square, London.
- 27th Sept., 1854. Owen, Richard, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S., F.L.S., F.G.S., British Museum, London.
- P. 7th May, 1851. Pidgeon, Henry Clarke, 10, St. Leonard's terrace, Maida hill West, London.

- 27th Sept., 1854. Phillips, John, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S., F.G.S., Professor of Geology, and Keeper of the University Museum, Oxford; Hon. Mem. Imp. Acad., Moscow; Société Vaudoise, &c., Oxford.
- 27th Sept., 1854. Sabine, Major-General Edward, R.A., D.C.L., LL.D., Pres. R.S., F.R.A.S., 13, Ashley place, London, S.W., and Woolwich.
- 27th Sept., 1854. Sedgwick, Rev. Adam, A.M., F.R.S., F.G.S., F.R.A.S., Hon. M.R.I.A., Woodwardian Professor, Trinity College, Cambridge.
- p. 6th Feb., 1851. Smith, Charles Roach, F.S.A., Member of the Roy. Soc. North. Antiq. Copenhagen, Hon. Mem. SS. Antiq., France, Normandy, Scotland, Spain, Newcastle, the Morinie, Abbeville, Picardy, Wiesbaden, Luxemburg, Treves, Touraine, &c., Temple place, Strood, Kent.
- 6th Feb., 1851. Willis, Rev. Robert, A.M., F.R.S., Jacksonian Professor, Cambridge, and 23, York terrace, Regent's park, London.
- p. 27th Sept., 1854. Wright, Thomas, A.M., F.S.A., Hon. M.R.S.L., Member of the Institute of France; of the Roy. Soc. North. Antiqs. Copenhagen; Hon. Mem. of the Soc. of Antiquaries of France; Corresp. Mem. Soc. Antiq. Normandy; of Soc. Antiqs. Scotland, &c., 14, Sydney street, Brompton, London.

TRANSACTIONS.

ADDRESS TO THE MEMBERS OF THE HISTORIC SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., &c., &c., President.

(READ 14TH NOVEMBER, 1867.)

IN the beginning of this year, gentlemen, I pointed out to the Society some of those discrepancies which have struck me in studying the accepted narratives of our early history, and on this occasion I purpose yet further to open my difficulties. For, as it seems to me, the great lack of our generation is—boldness; not in theory,—far from it,—but in attacking ancient faiths and current explanations. The cut-and-dry sequences of Hume have been received by the busy world without enquiry, until at length they positively seem to have gained somewhat of the respect due to inspired truth; yet when we heretics come to the examination of his authorities, aided by the knowledge dug from buried city and lonely grave, we find there such curious perplexities as almost drive us to despair. For the pleasing and logical bewilderment which Hume bequeathed to us, none can wholly blame the historian. The savages of Britain were of little interest to a savant of the eighteenth century, and his careless eye saw no discrepancy between the successive stories of Cæsar, Tacitus, and Bede; nor did any suspicion rise to his mind in turning over the leaves of Gildas and William of Malmesbury, “the frivolousness of these questions,” he thinks, “corresponds with the weakness of the authorities.” But, luckily, a wider curiosity is now abroad, and stronger evidence than that of Bede must be called, before we can put

faith in the strange story of the British Interregnum. One of the most puzzling questions,—to me at least,—connected with this time, I shall shortly put before you, but the first matter I would call to your attention relates to an earlier period, as early as the very dawn of man's civilisation.

Beyond all cavil man is now proved to have lived in Europe in a state so rude that a natural cavern was his only shelter, and rough flints his sole implements. It might indeed be asserted that every cavern on our continent—that has been sealed from weather and flood—is found to bear traces of this early occupation. But, to put my question in the clearest form, we will pass by the “cavernmen,” and take ground on the Kjekkenmoddens of Denmark, which, probably, show the second stage of man's progress towards our own condition. These shell-mounds are, as you must be well aware, the refuse-heaps of an ichthyofagic people which, at an unknown date, dwelt along the coasts of the Northern Seas, the English Channel, and the larger lakes of Scotland. Now, in considering the savages who raised these heaps, and remembering always that they had advanced so far beyond the “cavernmen” as to use pottery, it seems to me that the origin of our race may almost be logically deduced by a series of negatives.

I am not about to repeat the well-known description of the Kjekkenmodden; it must be ready to the mind of each of you. Three points only I would touch upon here, leaving to your consideration the minor evidence. Firstly then, the age of the shell-mounds must be to some extent verified, and we have, fortunately, most distinct testimony upon this matter. One of the commonest bones found in the rubbish is that of the capercuilze, which feeds upon the buds of the pine. The peat-fields of Denmark had already assured us that that country had once been covered from end to end with pine forests, and the presence of the capercuilze enables us to fix

the date of the shell-mounds as, at least, equally early with that of the peat. But in an unknown age the pines of Denmark gave place to oaks, which had wholly overspread the land at a period before iron was discovered. And *before historic times* these oaks again had given place to the beautiful forests of beech which are now a national boast. These three changes of vegetation certainly imply successive change of climate, each probably more temperate; yet the shell-mounds are as old as the earliest, and at their foundation man was not a stranger on the earth. And still, though ten thousand years would be a very cautious estimate for such vast mutations of nature, the bones and shells forming the heaps are found to belong to existing species; I am not aware that a single fragment of an antediluvian animal has been anywhere uncovered. This fact, while it precludes the idea of any very terrible cataclasm since the period, gives us a further date for the building of the Kjekkenmodden, and shows what a vast time was needed for the progress of man even to such a state of barbarism as this. But of animals still living in Denmark not one is absent, except the hare, which was possibly not eaten;—as among the Britons in Cæsar's time. The length of occupation is shown to have been great by the vast size of some heaps, and its permanency throughout the year is proved by the discovery of bones belonging to migratory birds of summer or winter flight.

Is it probable, or even possible, that the builders of the shell-mounds, so barbarous as we know them to have been, could have migrated from another continent to the spot in which we find them? I pass by the unlikelihood of any migration from South to North, from the tropics to the frigid zone. National migrations will generally be found to have travelled laterally and not vertically. I would wish you to consider on the evidence whether it was *possible* for the shell-mound people to have travelled far in their state of barbarism.

There are, however, two theories in this matter which we will very briefly touch upon. Perhaps a few persons still have faith in Archbishop Whateley's solution of the mystery, viz., that the migration took place at a time when the people were more highly civilized; and that they gradually fell lower and lower in their new seats. To support this extraordinary supposition no evidence can be brought forward, and it is to be hoped that Sir John Lubbock's admirable refutation of it, at Dundee, will convince such few individuals as may have lazily adopted a theory which would indeed explain many difficulties, had it itself a reasonable explanation.

There is another school among us, notably on the growth I think, which, under shelter of Professor Darwin's wing, would trace all life to one spontaneous generation, repeated more or less frequently under identical circumstances. (I know that exception may be taken to any formula of this creed, but, plainly stated, that, as I understand, is the theory on which they cautiously build.) Now I do not wish to speak at length upon "The Origin of Species," nor in any form to condemn its bold suggestions, but certain links seem to me needful between one form of life and another which are not found in the Kjekkenmodden; for, although, as an extreme example, one might credit that a monkey had advanced slowly into the human type, no one can believe that a bull, or a dog, without a miracle could beget a human baby. There must be many steps in such a progress, and those steps should have left their print wherever mankind is found. It will be said that such prints or links may be found in the earliest seats of man; but then again we find ourselves face to face with the theory of migration.

Was mankind then autochthonic, at least in the sense that it derived its life from no earlier vitality, nor reached the divers climes in which we find it by migrations? I remember

perfectly well the oft-quoted passage from Capt. Cook's Diary (third voyage), which instances the peopling of a South Sea island by accidental migration ; nor do I forget the strong arguments drawn from philology and from the shape of the early bronze weapons of Europe ; but they are not pertinent to this enquiry. That at a period shortly earlier than our records, there were great migrations from the eastern continent to ours, I firmly believe, but such occurrences in no way touch the question of man's origin. I feel convinced that this problem will one day be answered finally, and to hasten that moment I have thus briefly called your attention to it.

Descending, gentlemen, to a date far later, I should wish to consider with you the famous Wall of Hadrian, which divided the Roman province from Caledonia. The height of this stupendous rampart was certainly twelve feet,* probably more ; its breadth was eight feet, and its length seventy-three and a-half miles. The masonry was wholly, or in great part, constructed by Hadrian, but the entire work occupied fifty years of interrupted labour. Now let us examine who were the enemies so terrible that a barrier like this should be thrown up against them.

We are told, firstly, that they were Caledonians or Britons ; secondly, that they were naked savages, ignorant of building as of clothes, fed by the chase and pasture alone ; fish, we are expressly told by Dion Cassius, they did not use. They lived in tents, had wives in common, and were epicures in cannibalism.† For arms they had a leather target, a pointless sword of iron, and darts tipped with bone. Such was the condition of the Caledonians. In regard to their numbers, a calculation may be made from the analogy of savage tribes existing at this day in the hunting stage of humanity. Without taking the North American Indians as our parallel,

* Bede. It measured 12ft. in his time.

† Gibbon, c. xxv. Jerome, vol. ii, p. 75.

of whose hunting grounds a competent witness, Mr. Schoolcraft, estimates that each warrior needs fifty thousand acres for the support of his family, we may find abundant proof in every part of the globe that, living by the chase alone, each head of a household will need, at the *very least possible*, one square mile of first-rate game land to range over,* and I am not acquainted with any race that is so economical by the half. Besides, all modern savages, I believe, eat fish. But taking the very liberal estimate which I have granted to the Caledonians, we shall find that the heads of families were about thirty thousand in number; and this supposition is exactly confirmed by Tacitus, who relates that the great chief Galgacus, having strained every resource, brought just that number of men into the field against Agricola at the battle of the Grampians†; and among them were many aged persons and youths. Agricola plainly believed that the loss of ten thousand men had broken the Caledonian power beyond repair, and tranquilly he returned to Rome, leaving behind him no rampart except the discipline of the legions and the well-trying bravery of the Britons.‡ This was A.D. 84.

Let us for a moment contrast this paltry body of savages with the dense population of the Roman province. In the frantic revolt of Boadicea seventy thousand Latin subjects were slain in *two* coloniæ alone. The army that met Suetonius numbered two hundred and thirty thousand, of whom eighty thousand perished on the field§; but even such a blow was scarcely felt in the crowd of British warriors, and the victory of Suetonius was followed by a long period of inaction; during which Turpilianus made no attempt upon the defeated

* See *Prehistoric Times*, by Sir John Lubbock, p. 482-3

† Tacitus, *Vita Agricolæ*, cap. 37.

‡ Agricola indeed established forts in the conquered country, but nothing like a wall or fence.

§ Ann. lib. xiv, c. 39. Tacitus, it must be owned, repeats these numbers with a natural hesitation, but Xiphiline has stronger faith.

tribes. Yet we are to credit, on the authority of a second-hand historian and half-a-dozen foolish monks, that these very lean kine had grown so fat, and these brave, fat bulls so very poor, in the space of forty years, that from end to end the province was devoured, and the Roman defenders, with native allies, were set at nought and overcome ! But let us own, gentlemen, that the explanation is offered to one's hand. The Britons, forsooth, in the lifetime even of those who sacked Camaladunum and fought the great battle of Boadicea, were so corrupted by the luxuries of slavery, so polished and emasculated in the Roman "*ergastula*," as to be unable to defend life or property against the cannibal invaders ! Verily this is a strange page of history, and one on which much authority should be cited.

Hadrian landed in Britain A.D. 119, thirty-five years after the departure of Agricola. Among the colonists and veterans were men, still hale and hearty, who had borne arms at the battle of the Grampians, when the redoubted Galgacus and his army were utterly routed by two Roman legions. Hadrian was a valiant soldier, and most surely an unlikely subject for panic, yet his first act was to abandon Agricola's conquests, and to commence the rampart that bears his name. But the ordinary garrison of Britain, as we know by many inscriptions and other witnesses, was four legions,* which would average, with auxiliaries and cavalry, 40,000 soldiers. And excepting for the Jeremiads of Gildas, we have no reason to believe that the Britons had degenerated from their forefathers' courage. To the last they were favourites in the Roman amphitheatre, as more ferocious and determined than any other gladiators. The highwaymen of Britain had also their renown even at that early date ; Libanius offered oratorical honour to the Celtic Dick Turpin.

* The 2nd, 6th, 9th and 20th. Mr. Bruce estimates the four legions of Aulus Plautus, with their auxiliaries, at 50,000 men. I do not know his authority. *Roman Wall*, p. 3.

It is much to be regretted that Tacitus is not more explicit in his hint that the Caledonians were German by race. He says vaguely "that the red hair and large limbs of that "people indicate" such an origin; and from the context it appears certain that he looked upon them as a race utterly distinct from the midland Silures, or the Gallic or the Belgic peoples of the south. Could we resolve that the suggestion was true, some light might be thrown upon the building of the wall, by supposing an alliance between the savages of Scotland and the far more dangerous pirates of the North Sea.

And it is curious to note that the first hint of a British fleet is just contemporaneous with the building of the wall. "Mænius Agrippa, tribune of the first cohort of the Spaniards, "and prefect of the British fleet," was sent by the divine Hadrian on his expedition. The Saxons were just now beginning to move from their dreary forests, whether pressed by crowding tribes, or solely ambitious for fight, we shall never know. Is it not probable that one of their earliest swoops would be upon Scotland, which *perhaps* they found occupied by a kindred race, speaking a language akin? If this be so, the precautions of Hadrian are just intelligible; for these pirates were certainly able to face the Roman legions with a possibility of success, which one can scarcely believe of the Caledonians. It may be said that the few notices of Roman histories give us no authority for this supposition; that the plague of the rovers is not heard of for nearly a century later. This is not to be denied. But our very first notice of them is of a people already the scourge of the northern seas, not timidly feeling their way among unknown dangers, but furiously ravaging the coasts of Gaul and Britain. Besides, the Saxons rarely fought unless their booty was in danger;

and the long sea reaches of Scotland would give them peculiar opportunities for reaching their own element. And it should also be remembered that the historians seldom honour the Scottish heroes with any other title than "barbarian," which they could probably confer with equal indifference upon our own forefathers.

There are other circumstances also,* which I hope at some future time to bring before you, that give this supposition some little additional support in my own eyes. And if it be rejected, nor any other fill its place, I find myself once more in hopeless bewilderment, eyeing, if I may so speak, a colossal "mare's nest" that stretches from one side of our island to the other, declaredly built for a cause I cannot understand, to protect a country of warriors more than able to protect themselves.†

There is a movement just now among a certain set of bold antiquarians to which I should like to call your attention before I make an end—that is, to restore to our alphabet the lost letters of the English tongue. There may be a few among the younger members here who stare aghast at the mention of lost letters, in a language already spoken over the third part of the world, and which as yet is thought to show no signs of weakness or decay. But in the English tongue, as we write it, nearly a half of the sounds remain without distinctive character, and from this cause arise misspellings, bad grammar, and false pronunciation. Another evil also follows, not to be overlooked because Englishmen suffer little from it; a great and needless difficulty in learning the tongue. Endless are the systems of writing, phonetic,

* For instance, Bede himself (lib. i, c. 12, *Ecc. His.*) relates that the legion sent by Ætius drove the Picts and Scots over sea, which had not been done before. Where did they drive them to?

† Gibbon, *Dec. and Fall*, c. xxvii. Maximus is said to have been followed to Gaul by one hundred thousand enthusiastic youths, besides thirty thousand soldiers;—and such a restless and martial people could not resist the Caledonian savages!

symbolic, and other, with which inventors' heads have been turned, and the temper of the public tried from the conversion until now,—and all for the want of those lost letters. Let us see a little what they are, that we may judge the prudence of those few heroes who dare to propose their restoration.

In this English speech which we use there are thirteen vowels ; the Latin alphabet, which our fathers were persuaded to adopt, has but five. Too lazy to learn the futhorc, perhaps fussing over it with holy water as an invention of the pagan gods, Augustin and his monks imposed on the English their own imperfect abecedarium with their religion. And how did they manage to express thirteen sounds with five characters ? I am told that St. Augustin performed many miracles, but plainly this was beyond his power ; for he escaped the difficulty in a manner that reminds one of Alexander before the Gordian knot. Thus were the sounds portioned out among the letters, and thus they remain to our day :—

a took four—as in hat, hate, hall, and harm.

e took two—as in bet and beet.

i took two—as in flit and flite.

o took three—as in not and note, and noose.

u took two—as in cub and cube.

The interchangeable letters, *w* and *y*, the Latins, very unwillingly we may believe, were compelled to take in.

Of the twenty-two English consonants they boldly omitted seven,—*ch*, *edh*, *eth*, *ess*, *esh*, *ezh*, *eng*,—but in return they gave us two, which we did not in the least require,—*c* and *g*.

It will thus be seen that we needed thirty-eight letters, and thirty-eight we had ; taking away our own, the Latins gave us twenty-six in exchange, but inasmuch as two are perfectly useless, we fall back on twenty-four ; fourteen—more than the half—are thus missing. Of these the most important, or

at least those selected for a first essay by our Restorers, are *tha* and *edh*, as in *through* and *though*—the latest to give way before Roman indolence, and so, perhaps, the easiest to restore. The characters are simple enough, \overline{P} *tha*, \times *edh*, and that they may shortly become familiar to all eyes should be the prayer of intelligent antiquarians. This is not the first attempt to restore letters, devoured but digested not, by the greedy abecedarium ; even Chilperic, the rude king of the Franks, lost patience in witnessing a struggle so foolish between speech and sign ; *o* long, *e* long, *tha*, and double *u*, were added to the French alphabet by his decree. But kings pass and indolence remains. The monks may indeed have scoured the old books, according to command, but the restored letters fell slowly from use again. Chilperic, indeed, was so ill advised as to choose Greek signs, at random, to note the German sounds ; in England we did more wisely in searching the ancient futhorc for our symbols, and for this cause, perhaps, our interpolations lasted longer than did those of the Franks and Goths, who suffered from the same evil. But at length they dropped away, forgotten. May this new effort be more successful !

In other ways, gentlemen, we should do well to wend back again to the speech and spirit of our forefathers. I would not go so far as to forbid all polysyllables, or words of foreign source ; but most surely, had I the power, I would banish three-fourths of them, as useless and emasculate. There is a story I once heard of a great living scholar who has an enthusiastic love for our ancient speech. He had been dwelling upon the beauty and music of monosyllables, so ignorantly scorned by the writers of our time. A boy who stood beside him, listening in much bewilderment to his fervent outburst, asked for a specimen of that dying tongue which was worthy of such enthusiasm. “I will give you
“one, my boy,” said the Doctor, putting his arm round him.

“ When Bathsheba came to her son’s palace to ask a grace
 “ from him, the great king stepped down from his throne, and
 “ put her in the place of honour, and said—‘ Speak on, my
 “ ‘ mother, for I will not say thee nay.’ The wisest man
 “ that ever was, spoke in monosyllables when he wished to be
 “ most tender and loving and worshipful. Put in that exquisite
 “ sentence one word of French or Latin, and off flies all that
 “ tenderness that must have warmed the mother’s heart within
 “ her. We stupid people, my boy, can scarcely find a wiser
 “ model than Solomon.” For though I am no alarmist,
 unless some great man do rise up to restore our speech, I
 declare it will surely die,—die, at least, in that dainty beauty
 which is its greatest charm. A language of accuracy and
 logic ours can never be ; though we twist it as we may, never
 could it be said of English, as Balsac said of French, “ if a
 “ sentence be doubtful in meaning it is certainly bad grammar.”
 Our forefathers yielded something of strictness when they
 secured the most poetic idiom that the world ever saw ; but
 as English is written to-day, gentlemen, I declare that it has
 neither richness nor beauty nor accuracy. For the changes
 that are daily making are changes of words, and nothing but
 words ; a dissyllable for a monosyllable, bastard Latin for
 pure Angle. Were they improvements in structure, to better
 the vagueness of our grammar, I would be among the first to
 praise, as I have shewn above ; but no such sign is visible.
 Unless our brothers across the Atlantic, or over the Indian
 sea, should hold to our stately mother tongue with a closer
 love than we, the time is not far off when its beauty will
 have passed away.

NOTES UPON WAR MEDALS, NAVAL AND MILITARY.

By J. Harris Gibson, Esq.

(READ 12TH DECEMBER, 1867.)

THE PAPAL DECORATIONS OF 1860.

THE study of medals and decorations awarded for military or naval service, is, comparatively speaking, a new branch of numismatic science. An historical record stamped upon a piece of metal is of greater value in the elucidation of minor events in the annals of a state or kingdom, than the information which may be gained by careful reading or the study of manuscript. That which is recorded upon the obverse or reverse of an ancient coin or medal, must be received as accurate and truthful, whether directly giving the name and titles of some individual little known in history, or whether some remarkable event is distinctly noticed; while on the other hand the most assiduous research is often productive of only supposition.

Addison, in his *Dialogues upon the usefulness of Ancient Medals*, has said:—"It was indeed the best way in the world
"to perpetuate the memory of great actions, thus to coin out
"the life of an Emperor, and to put every great exploit into
"the mint. It was a kind of printing, before the art was
"invented. It is by this means that Monsieur Vaillant has
"disembroiled a history that was lost to the world before his

“time, and out of a short collection of medals has given us
 “a Chronicle of the Kings of Syria. For this too is an
 “advantage medals have over books, that they tell their story
 “much quicker, and sum up a whole volume in twenty or
 “thirty reverses. They are indeed the best epitomes in the
 “world, and let you see with one cast of an eye the substance
 “of above a hundred pages.”

It appears, therefore, that coins and medals do help to explain the history of nations: so do badges of distinction illustrate the military history of empires.

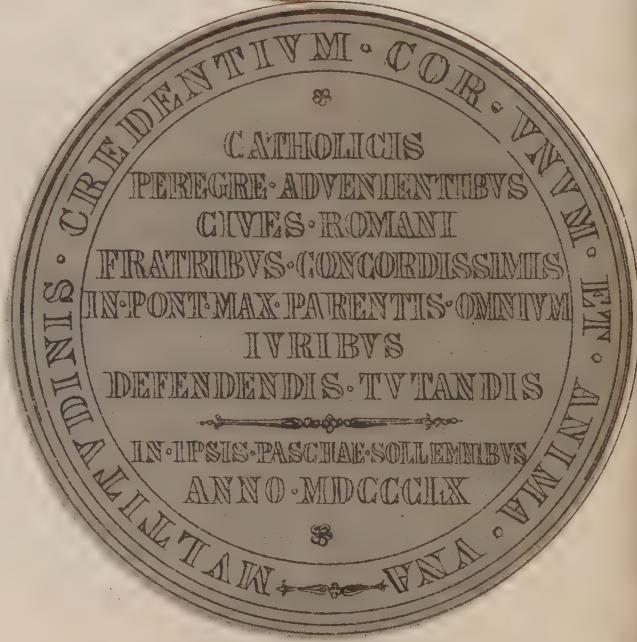
The decorations, which I have the honour to bring before your notice this evening, were presented by His Holiness Pio Nono to a wounded volunteer officer (a British subject) in the Papal army of 1860. This army consisted of volunteers from all parts of Europe:—Germans, Frenchmen, Belgians, Italians, and British subjects; and according to General Lamoricière's estimate amounted altogether to a little over 16,000 men.* The favourite or “crack” regiments were called Guides and Zouaves. The soldier who received the decorations served in the latter corps.

ORDER OF PIUS IX, SECOND CLASS.

This order of knighthood was instituted on the 17th June, 1847,† and is divided into two classes. The badge of the second class is of fine gold, and consists of a blue enamelled star of eight points fixed upon a gold radiation: on the centre of the star is a stud of white enamel, inscribed “PIVS IX,” in gold letters: this is encircled by a band bearing the legend—+ “VIRTVTI ET MERITO”—in relief and blue enamel. On the reverse is fixed a white enamelled stud, inscribed—

* Vide *United Service Magazine*, 1860, part iv, p. 357.

† Vide Sir Bernard Burke's *Orders of Knighthood*, p. 175.



“ANNO MDCCCXLVII.” It is suspended to the breast by a dark blue ribbon edged with two narrow stripes of crimson.

THE PAPAL WAR MEDAL, 1860.

The medals given to all grades who served the Pope in this war are the same in type; a difference being in the metal and clasps attached. By far the greater number were distributed in German silver, the wounded only received the decoration in gold. The clasps are inscribed—LES GROTTES, PERUGIA, PESARO, SPOLETO, CASTELFIDARDO and ANCONA. That for “Les Grottes” is exceedingly scarce. In this affair Colonel Pinodin, with a small force of fifty gendarmes, attacked and defeated three hundred Garibaldians. Colonel Pinodin was afterwards made a General; he was killed at the battle of Castelfidardo.

The medal in gold consists of a crimson enamelled cross inverted, and resting upon the head of a serpent, by which it is encircled. The serpent is here emblematic of eternity, the inverted cross is symbolical of the martyrdom of St. Peter, who was crucified with his head downwards.

Outside the serpent is the legend, in gold letters upon blue enamel—PRO PETRI SEDE—“for the seat of Peter”—PIO IX. P. M., A. XV.

Reverse:—VICTORIA QVAE VINCIT MVNDVM FIDES NOSTRA. “The victory which conquers the world is our faith.” This medal has one clasp, inscribed—CASTELFIDARDO.

Ribbon—Crimson, with two stripes of white edged with yellow.

The third medal I have to notice is a commemorative one. After the battle of Castelfidardo, the Pope presented this medal, first in bronze and afterwards in silver, to about fifteen of his wounded soldiers.

Obverse:—Bust of His Holiness Pius IX. Legend:—PIVS IX. PONT. MAX.

Reverse:—Inscribed, CATHOLICIS PEREGRE ADVENIENTIBVS
CIVES ROMANI FRATRIBVS CONCORDISSIMIS IN PONT. MAX.
PARENTIS OMNIUM IVRIBVS DEFENDENDIS TVTANDIS.—IN IPSIS
PASCHAE SOLEMNIBVS, ANNO MDCCCLX.

“The Roman citizens to their Catholic brethren coming
“from other lands, and acting with the greatest concord in
“defending and securing the rights of the Sovereign Pontiff
“the Father of all.”—“On the festival of Easter, anno 1860.”

Legend:—MVLTITVDINIS CREDENTIVM COR VNVM ET ANIMA
VNA.—“One heart and one soul of the multitude of believers.”

ON THE ANCIENT CASTLE AT BURY, LANCASHIRE.

By Charles Hardwick, Esq.,

Author of "A History of Preston and its Environs," &c.

(READ 12TH DECEMBER, 1867.)

IN September, 1865, some labourers were employed by the Improvement Commissioners of Bury in constructing a sewer across a piece of waste ground, named "Castle Croft," which had been previously cleared of some rickety buildings of a somewhat temporary character. In the course of their labours the workmen came upon the foundation-walls of the ancient castle of Bury. The Commissioners, with the assent of the Earl of Derby's Steward, determined to make further excavations in the interest of local historical knowledge. I visited the spot several times during the progress of the work, and carefully noted at the time any matters possessing the slightest archæological importance.

The direction of the sewer was nearly from east to west. It crossed the remains of a wall, which was at first thought to pertain to the ancient keep of the stronghold ; but subsequent excavations demonstrated this conjecture to be erroneous. The workmen next extended their labour in a line with this wall, in a southward direction. On reaching the south-west angle, a trench was driven eastward, along the line of the south wall, when the foundation and lower portion of the structure were exposed to view. The earth about the east wall was afterwards excavated in a similar manner. With the exception of

the north-east angle, which is covered with buildings, the boundary wall of an entire parallelogram was laid bare. Previous to this, however, I had suggested the propriety of digging a trench across the enclosure, which resulted in the discovery of an inner wall of very massive masonry, which, on being followed, proved to be the foundation of one side of the donjon or keep of the stronghold. When excavated on all sides, it was found to form a parallelogram, measuring, externally, about eighty-two feet by sixty-three feet. The dimensions of the outer enclosure are about a hundred and twenty feet by a hundred and thirteen feet.

The keep or donjon tower occupies about the centre of the larger enclosure, the foundations of which, as I had anticipated, were not of sufficient strength to have supported the heavy masonry common to the superstructure of such buildings. It did not appear to be in any place two feet in thickness. It exhibited indications of having slightly given way at some early period, from internal lateral pressure. Apparently with the view to support it and impart to it additional strength, strong buttresses, within a few feet of each other, seem to have been afterwards added. These buttresses are formed of well squared stones, and are of a different class of masonry from that of the wall they support. The stones exhibit the workmen's mark in the form of an X, with the upper as well as the lower points joined together, so as to give the figure somewhat the appearance of an hour-glass. The fact that these buttresses are not "tied" into the main wall furnishes additional evidence of their more recent construction. The foundations of the donjon or inner structure are of massive masonry, and upwards of six feet in thickness. It is not improbable that the buttressed wall formed the enclosure called the inner baillie, and separated it from the larger outer court, which contained the stables, offices, dwellings for servants, retainers, &c. From Aikin's

map it appears that the outer enclosure was of considerable dimensions, measuring about six hundred feet by four hundred and fifty feet. The keep or citadel, including its surrounding wall, does not occupy the centre of this larger enclosure, but is situated nearer to its south-east corner. This is usually the case with Norman castles. Saxon keeps were generally built on or attached to the outer wall, as at Castleton in Derbyshire, and at Porchester in Hampshire. The keep of the former is inferior, in point of dimensions, to that of Bury ; being only about fifty feet square. The external fortification is likewise much less, measuring only about two hundred feet by a hundred and fifty feet. The celebrated Norman keep at Rochester, which is regarded as an excellent specimen of its class, is only about seventy feet square.

It appears that a large amount of rubbish has accumulated on the site, some of it in relatively recent times. Where this has been removed we have evidence that the original earth had been removed on the outside from around the foundation of the buttressed wall, which, in conjunction with the original character of the site itself, would give to the ground on which the donjon and inner court are situated, the appearance of a slight mound or plateau, of some three or four feet in elevation. The original foundations of the buttressed wall are built against the side of this earth-mound. They are thickest in the centre of the south wall, where most probably stood the gateway. There is nothing in these foundation walls that indicates with certainty the date of the erection of the building. From some rudely carved ornamental stones, however, which lay scattered about, the superstructure appears to have been erected in what is termed the "decorated" style of "Gothic" architecture, which was chiefly adopted in England during the fourteenth century. This does not, however, necessarily imply that no other building previously occupied

the site, which has been evidently one of considerable natural strength. From Aikin's map it will be seen that the castle was protected, especially on the north and west sides, by a steep precipice, and that an ancient branch of the Irwell, or an artificial fosse, having connection with that river, skirted its base.

Little is known, of a reliable character, of the early history of Bury. The name itself is but one of the many forms which have arisen from the Anglo-Saxon *burh*, which signifies a hill, or fort, or defended homestead of any class. On the formation of our parliamentary system, the boroughs, in contradistinction to the counties or shires, were chiefly walled towns, or towns which provided for their own defence, and possessed privileges withheld from their rural neighbours, who were either the retainers, vassals, or serfs of the lords of the soil.

If we possessed any reliable evidence that the term "Bury" was applied to this locality before the Norman Conquest, we might reasonably endorse the opinion of more than one local historian, that it was one of the twelve "conjectured" important castles erected between the Ribble and Mersey during what is termed the "Saxon" period of our history. Mr. Baines (*Hist. Lanc.*, vol. i, p. 38) cites the Venerable Bede as his authority for fixing these twelve strongholds in the following localities:—"Well-ey, Wal-ton, Child-wall, Win-wick, Black-stone, Pen-wort-ham, Seph-ton, Stan-dish, "Wig-an, Roch-dale, Middle-ton, and Berry." Penwortham is the only locality mentioned in the Domesday Survey as the site of a castle within the district named. On turning to book ii, chap. 9, § 3, of Bede's History, as directed by Mr. Baines, we find no reference to castles whatever, but much about the ordaining of bishops and the marrying of virgins. In fact the reference is either a clerical or a typographical blunder. Mr. Baines really intended to have referred the

historical student to the pages of that semi-romance writer, the Rev. John Whitaker, the author of a *History of Manchester*, an antiquary whose fertile imagination discerned Saxon “*castles*” often merely in the sound of the names of such places as those above quoted. There *may* have been some kind of fortress at Bury in Saxon times, but we have at present no reliable evidence of the fact, except that which is furnished by the name itself. That a Saxon fortification existed at Manchester, as well as a Roman *castrum*, is testified to by remains, and by direct reference to such a structure in the Saxon Chronicle. Consequently, the negative evidence of the Domesday survey is not destructive of the probability that a Saxon *burh* existed at Bury, as that document makes no reference to the ruins at Castle-field, or elsewhere in the township of Manchester. But probabilities should never be confounded with clearly demonstrable facts in matters pertaining to historical or archæological research.

The earliest known reference to the place by its present designation occurs in the time of Henry II, when Robert de Lacy made a grant of certain lands in the parish. The name of Adam de Bury occurs in a “Perambulation de “Foresta” of the twelfth year of the reign of Henry III, amongst the Lansdowne MSS. He is likewise referred to, about the same period, in the “Testa de Nevill.” The chief portion of the land was afterwards held by the Pilkingtons of Pilkington and Bury, by whom it was forfeited after the conclusion of the “Wars of the Roses.” The victor at Bosworth field, Henry VII, conferred the estates upon the then Lord Stanley, afterwards the first Earl of Derby of the present family, by whose heirs it is still retained.

The earliest authentic record of the castle is no older than the reign of Henry VIII, but, from the very nature of that record, it must have been in existence for a long time previously. Leland, the “King’s antiquary,” when travelling

through the country, "in search of England's antiquities," about 1542-9, thus writes about the place:—"Byri on Irwell, "4 or V miles from Manchestre, but a poore market. There "is a Ruin of a Castel by the paroch chirch yn the Towne. "It longgid with the Towne sumtime to the Pilkentons, now "to the Erles of Darby. Pilkenton had a place hard by "Pilkenton Park, 3 miles from Manchestre." Leland's distances are, of course, merely guesses at the truth. In such matters he is frequently in error.

It is certain that the De Bury family held land in the parish as recently as 1613, yet we find that the bulk of the property at the time of the "Wars of the Roses" was held by the Pilkington family. Sir Thomas Pilkington, a devoted adherent to the fortunes of the House of York, obtained from Edward IV a license to "kernel and embattle" his manor house at Stand, in the neighbouring township of Pilkington. It is not, therefore, improbable that Bury castle at this time ceased to be a manorial residence, and gradually fell into the ruinous condition in which it was seen by Leland. It is not known at what period the Pilkington family first acquired lands in Bury. In 1351, Roger Pilkington, however, is referred to as a tenant of the Duchy of Lancaster, "holding one knight's fee in Bury, which Adam de Bury "formerly held of the honour of Lancaster." If any reliance can be placed on a traditionary date (1380) in a MS. in the possession of Mr. Shaw, of Bury, to which I shall hereafter refer, we may conclude that Roger Pilkington, or his immediate successor, was the builder of the more modern portion of the edifice. But this, as I have before shewn, does not necessarily preclude the possibility, or even probability of the existence of a fortress during the occupancy of the De Burys. Indeed the name itself is conclusive that some *burh*, or fortified residence did exist, or they would not have so described themselves. If it be true, as asserted in the MS. just referred

to, that a large archway stone was once found, on which were sculptured the De Bury arms, some such erection must have preceded the grant of the knight's fee, formerly held by this family, to that of Pilkington, which, as I have stated, took place previous to 1351. Notwithstanding the lapse of nearly four hundred years, there is yet much local popular sympathy with the now extinct Pilkington family, on account of the "spoliation" to which they were subjected after the battle of Bosworth, and yet it is by no means impossible, but, on the contrary, highly probable, that the Pilkingtons themselves had been put into possession of their neighbours' property for precisely similar reasons, after a previous defeat of the Lancastrian party by the adherents of the house of York.

Some remains of the castle existed in relatively recent times. Aikin, in his "Description of the country from thirty to forty miles round Manchester," published in 1793, gives a plan of the foundations as they appeared at some previous period, but he mentions no date or authority for it. Mr. Baines says, (1836,) "Remains of the castle wall are to be seen in the tank of the gasometer near the Church, and, about twenty years ago, a fragment of this wall, about six feet thick, was found in excavating." He likewise records the finding of remains in the gardens which in more recent times occupied the site, including coins "from the mints of the Edwards, Henry VIII, Elizabeth, and the Stuarts," but he states not by whom or when.

Some curious traditions still exist respecting this castle at singular variance with the known facts of history. Mr. Baines says—(*His. Lan.*, vol. ii, p. 660)—"In the civil wars which raged in Lancashire, in 1644, Bury castle was battered by the Parliamentary army from an intrenchment called Castle Steads, in the adjoining township of Walmersley; and from that period the overthrow of this as well as of a large portion of the other castles of the kingdom may be dated."

Mr. Baines gives no authority whatever for this astounding statement. It ought to have been worth the while, one would think, of a local historian, before printing such a paragraph, to have instituted some inquiry into the history of the edifice at Bury, during the century which elapsed between Leland's contemplating the "Ruine of a Castel," and the redoubtable exploit of the Parliamentary army in 1644. The latter, indeed, owes its existence to mere vulgar tradition, which frequently makes sad havoc with both facts and dates, and even the reputations of celebrated or notorious individuals. In scores of places in England, the people have been taught by tradition to believe that any ruin, either of castle or abbey, owes its dilapidated aspect at the present day primarily to the battering cannon of the renowned Oliver Cromwell! The deeds of Thomas Cromwell, Secretary of State to Henry VIII, who took so prominent a part in the dissolution of the monasteries; the doings of the soldiers of the "Great Rebellion," both Royalists and Roundheads; the fruits of castle-dismantling Acts of Parliament; nay, the very victories of old Time himself, have all been fused into one mass of incongruous traditionary lore, and tacked to the memory of the terrible Puritan chieftain. Many of the then remaining castles were certainly destroyed about the period Mr. Baines refers to; but very few, relatively, by the cannon of the Parliamentary armies. When the war was over, peaceful Acts of Parliament ordered the dismantling of numbers of these strongholds, with the view to prevent their use in any future civil commotion. Clitheroe and Greenough castles, in Lancashire, were dismantled by virtue of the power bestowed by such an act, passed at the close of the struggle referred to.

During one of my visits to the excavations I was courteously permitted by Mr. J. Shaw, of Bury, to inspect and take a copy of the MS. document I have previously referred to. It was formerly the property of his late father, and is, I

understand, in that gentleman's handwriting. It is, however, dated "Bury, April 13th, 1840," and signed "T. Crompton," or "Kromptom," it is difficult to say which. As the document may be said to embody all the traditionary lore to which I have referred, I give it entire :—

"BURY IN THE OLDEN TIME, OR THE SIEGE OF THE CASTLE, &c.—
 "Bury Castle, supposed to be built in the reign of Richard II, in 1380.
 "The date when erected cannot be positively ascertained. The coin
 "of the Stewarts, &c., have been found in the foundations. The whole
 "of the castle was destroyed by the Parliamentary army, in 1642—3,
 "when the wars between Charles I and Cromwell deluged poor England
 "in the blood of her children. Adam de Bury was attached to the
 "unfortunate Charles's cause. He fell, with many others, a prey to
 "the party spirit then raging so horribly in the land. The river Irwell
 "passed by the north side of the castle, and run by the north-east
 "turret. The site of the castle, which forms a parallelogram, was
 "about eleven roods square, and from the foundations [the walls]
 "seem to have been about two yards thick, with four round towers
 "about sixty feet high each. A large stone has been found which
 "belonged to the archway, with the arms of De Bury engraved thereon,
 "This drama [*qy.*] is principally taken from a legendary tale of Bury
 "Castle. Cromwell's army (by Stanley) was placed on Bury Moor:
 "the cannon in an entrenchment at Castle Head [*sic*] on the Walmesley
 "[*sic*] side of the river. Lord Strange arrayed his army of twenty
 "thousand for the Royal cause, on Gallows Hill, Tottington side. The
 "river opposite the castle, before the course was altered, was about a
 "hundred to a hundred and twenty yards wide."

Traditionary lore, though on the whole generally founded on some fact or facts, which have become distorted, owing to their frequent oral transmission by persons utterly ignorant of their original significance, is scarcely ever to be relied on so far as individuals or dates are concerned. The stories do unquestionably indicate the retention in the popular mind of *something* of importance that took place in that mythical epoch, generally styled "the olden time," but not often accurately what that *something* may have been. In this

respect tradition deals with the *past* very much in the same manner as the cautious prophet or seer consulted by the legendary King Cole dealt with the future. A humorous rhymester informs us that—

On old King Cole's left cheek was a mole ;
 So he sent for his se-cre-ta-ri-e,
 And bade him look in a fortune-telling book,
 And read him his des-ti-ni-e.

So the secretary said, when his fate he had read,
 And cast his na-ti-vi-ti-e,
 That a mole on the face boded that *something* would take place,
 But not what that *something* would be !

The people about Walton-le-dale, near Preston, speak of all the human remains found in the neighbourhood as pertaining to certain "Scotch warriors," slain in battle ; but they jumble together, "in most admired disorder," the many engagements that have been fought in the neighbourhood, from that of Brunanburh, (A.D. 934-7,) when the celebrated "Cuerdale hoard" was deposited in the earth near the Ribble's southern bank, to the siege of Preston, in 1715, including Cromwell's great victory in 1648. Nay, the passage of the Pretender's army, on its march to and from Derby, in 1745, is sometimes confounded with the "Scotch warrior" conglomerate referred to. I have previously shown, on the most reliable authority, that Bury Castle was a "ruine" a century previous to the "Great Rebellion." No mention is made in any of the very profuse contemporary accounts still extant of the proceedings of both Royalists and Parliamentarians of any fortress at Bury, or of any fight in its neighbourhood. At the close of the year 1642, the Parliamentary forces held the following fortified towns in Lancashire :—Manchester, Bolton, Blackburn, and Rochdale ; and the Royalists Preston, Lancaster, Liverpool, Wigan, and Warrington. Bury, if it had been in a condition for defence, would, of course, have been held by the Earl of Derby for the King. The Adam de

Bury, referred to in the document quoted, is either a myth, or the name of some earlier proprietor of the Castle at Bury, most probably some one compromised in the "Wars of the Roses." Indeed, the family appears to have become extinct before the commencement of the struggle between Charles and the Parliamentarians. On this point the documentary evidence quoted by Mr. Baines [*His. Lan.*, vol. ii, p. 663,] is very explicit. He says :—

"The Bury family do not seem to have entirely ceased their connection with the parish for many reigns afterwards;* for by an inquisition *post mortem*, in the *Duchy Records*, vol. viii, number 24, in 31 Henry VIII, Ralph Bury was found possessed of lands in Bury, Myddleton, and Totyngton; and in the Harleian Coll. MSS. is preserved a monumental inscription on Thomas, son of John Bury, of Bury Hall, co. Lanc., and Eliz., his wife, daughter of Thomas Stafford, of Bradfield, Berks, Esq., dated 1613. The last mention in the *Duchy Records* of this family is Richard Bury, a proprietor of lands in Middleton, in 19 James I. The arms of Bury were Sa, a chevr. between three plates, each charged with a cross patté gu."

There can have been no "Adam de Bury attached to the unfortunate Charles's cause," or his name would have appeared amongst the Lancashire "lords, knights and gentlemen" who compounded with the sequestration commissioners for their estates in 1646. There is, however, no such name in the list. I suspect the "coin of the Stewarts, &c.," said to "have been found in the foundations," has had much to do with fixing a date for other and older traditions. But coin might be lost amongst the *debris* long after the castle had become dismantled or destroyed, and therefore the finding of it proves nothing but that the said foundations were in existence at the date when such coins were deposited.

Cromwell's army could not have been placed on Bury Moor, by either Stanley or any one else, in 1642-3, as that general

* That is, after the "Wars of the Roses"

did not enter Lancashire till 1648, and then his route lay by Stonehurst, Preston, Wigan, and Warrington. Lord Strange's "army" of twenty thousand men really has reference to a recorded public meeting held on Bury Moor, the numbers stated as attending which are doubtless much exaggerated. A similar meeting was held on Preston Moor, and, singularly enough, as it was a numerous one, the same authority employs the same terms, twenty thousand, to express the fact.

The placing of the cannon at Castle Stead is another proof of the ignorance of some of the transmitters of this tradition. The cannon of the time of Charles I would have done little service at the distance, consequently no military man would have placed his small guns in such a position if there had existed at the time a castle worth battering.

It is evident that "this drama," principally taken from a legendary tale, is of no value as a record of historical facts; but as very many persons place implicit reliance on these traditions, I have deemed it of sufficient importance to examine thus minutely the claims of this document to public credence.

I have said that there is generally a germ of truth at the bottom of this class of legendary stories; that, indeed, there was a "something" in each of them, if we could but discover in what that something consisted. In this case, it is highly probable that older traditions, having reference to the "Wars of the Roses," may have been confounded with more recent events, and especially with succeeding civil wars. This, as I have shown, is by no means an uncommon occurrence. Singularly enough, Mr. Baines laments the lack of historical documents relating to Lancashire during the period when the rival houses of York and Lancaster struggled for supremacy. This unfortunate condition he attributes to the wilful destruction to which they were subjected by the partizans of both of the contending parties. The only local historical event of

much public importance recorded in connection with the bloody struggle for the sceptre of England by the Yorkists and the Lancastrians, relates to the capture of the unfortunate Henry VI, at "Bungerley hyppinge-stones," on the Ribble, near Clitheroe. It is, therefore, not impossible that some local events, lost to history, may have survived in the mutilated form in which tradition presents them at the present day, although all their real significance is irretrievably lost, and, what is worse, flagrant errors have usurped their place in the popular imagination.

During the recent excavations, the workmen came upon a small vault or chamber, which rumour immediately magnified into the entrance to a "secret passage" from the castle to some neighbouring edifice. Traditionary "secret passages," in connection with ruined castles or religious establishments, are very common affairs, and especially in Lancashire. They owe their existence, however, immeasurably more to the imaginative faculty than to solid masonry. Hundreds of people yet believe that a passage of this description once connected the priory at Penwortham, near Preston, with the religious house at Tulketh, on the opposite bank of the Ribble. The former place was but a poor "cell" under the monastery at Evesham, and the latter the temporary residence of Evanus and his monks during the erection of Furness Abbey. It is, therefore, highly improbable that a work somewhat similar in character, and not so *very much less* in magnitude, to the Thames tunnel, either could or would have been attempted under the circumstances, at the period referred to. And further, if so stupendous a work had been constructed, it could never have been a *secret* matter. These traditionary secret passages, most probably, in many cases, have had their origin in the telegraphic communication which the commanders of Roman military posts possessed by means of the semaphore and beacon lights, and which was known to

the vulgar merely by the results. The populace would be ignorant of the true means why certain "facts" could have been communicated, without the aid of a visible messenger above ground; hence the "secret" underground passage of the imagination became in process of time an article of implicit faith. During the late American war, certain important knowledge was technically said to have been secretly communicated by means of "the underground railway." This recent fact is, by no means, an unapt illustration of the hypothesis suggested. The case is strengthened by the circumstance that, both at Penwortham and Tulket, the remains of Roman *speculæ*, or outposts, commanding the entire estuary of the Ribble, at the head of the tidal flow, have been found and recorded.

The chief interest, however, attendant upon the recent excavations at Bury lies in the fact that it has been by many antiquaries regarded as the site of a Roman station. Consequently, I directed my own investigations primarily to the examination of the foundations and the subsoil beneath, with the view to ascertain whether any indications of Roman occupation could be found. I detected not the slightest evidence which would justify the assumption that a fortress of any kind had existed on the site prior to the Norman Conquest. The present foundations had evidently been set upon or in the original or unmoved soil; at the least, no *debris* of any previous structure has been found below them. Near the north-west corner the workmen came upon a wooden conduit or drain, cut out of solid oak; but this gives no clue to the date of its construction. In the course of the excavations, a section of a well, sunk about forty years previously, was exposed. It had penetrated the inner baillie wall; and I was informed by persons who remembered the making of the said well, that the workmen employed thought, at first, that they had pierced the solid rock.

If ever there existed a Roman *castrum* in the neighbourhood of Bury, it does not necessarily follow that its site was afterwards selected for either a Saxon or Norman fortress. Indeed, the Saxons had a superstitious dread of dwelling in the houses of the people they conquered, and generally built their villages at the distance of about a mile from the ruins of the sacked Roman settlements. Such was the case at Manchester, for Knott Mill is about a mile from the nucleus of the modern city; Preston parish church is about a mile, in a straight line, from the Roman *castrum* at Walton-le-dale; and Warrington is about the same distance from Stockton Heath, where modern antiquaries now place the Condate of the Itineraries.

Strongly fortified places like London, Chester, York, and Lancaster, which are built on the *debris* of Roman fortresses, are generally believed to have successfully resisted the assaults of the barbarian invaders, and to have preserved their original municipal privileges by paying tribute to, or by other agreement with, the conquerors of the surrounding country. The locality of "Castle Steads," in the township of Walmersley, about a mile and a third from Bury parish church, is admirably adapted as a site for a Roman *castrum*; but all traces of the ancient intrenchments have disappeared, and no trustworthy record exists of their specific character. Even Aikin's map shews but one trench. One of the nearest sites to Bury where Roman remains have been found, independently of the road which passes over Cockey Moor, about a mile to the west of Bury, on its way from Manchester to Ribchester, is in this very township of Walmersley, not far from "Grant's Tower," and about three miles from Bury, in a straight line. It consisted of a "hoard" or buried treasure, and included coins, silver bracelets, rings, etc., which had been buried about the end of the third century.* This hoard was discovered in

* See vol. vi, new series, *Trans. His. Soc.*

1864. An earthenware vase filled with brass coins of the "lower empire," was found in Hooley Wood, near Heywood, on the estate of James Fenton, Esq., in 1856.

The identity of the route of the tenth Iter of Antonine is a subject of too much importance to be discussed at the close of a paper like the present. I therefore reserve it for a future communication. It is sufficient for my present purpose to state that the recent excavations at Bury have thrown no additional light upon the subject, excepting in so far as the negative evidence obtained is, as far as it goes, confirmatory of the view propounded by Dr. Robson, myself, and others, that the route of the tenth Iter passed through Warrington, Wigan, and Preston to Lancaster, and not through Manchester, Bury, and Ribchester to Overborough, as conjectured by the elder antiquaries.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF NATIONAL GROWTH: A CHAPTER IN CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY.

By David Buxton, F.R.S.L., Hon. Secretary.

(READ 5TH MARCH, 1868.)

It is always an interesting subject of consideration to think how largely our English character, constitution, and language, are the products of the combination of so many and various elements. Physiologically, the living generation of men embody and represent the qualities and properties of all past generations. Psychologically, the individual mind retains and contains the effect of all the influences which have ever been brought to bear upon its developement, growth and action. The healthy frame—the *corpus sanus*—of the mature man, represents the training, the sustenance, and the exercise of a life. The perfect picture of the master-hand, is the final result of the life-long study, practice, and skill of the artist. A man may dispose of his books, without loss to himself, when he has so read them as to have informed his own mind and formed his own character by them :—when he has so received and digested their contents as to have absorbed them, and they have become assimilated with, and form part of, his own mental constitution. Our native tongue represents the union of almost every language which has ever been written or spoken. On the basement of aboriginal speech, has been built up, layer upon layer, the languages of Western Europe, the classical tongues of ancient Europe, Hebrew and Sanscrit from a remoter source ; and even the barbarous nomenclature of the Western Indians is not wanting. Now, all the analogies which I have thus pointed out apply with perfect truth,

and great force, to the constitution of the country in which we live. All the multifarious influences, from without and within; the infusion and transfusion of various races; the action, re-action, and counteraction of various social, ecclesiastical, and political forces; the utilization of material products, and the application of scientific discovery; all these, with innumerable other agencies, are embodied and expressed—solidified, I might almost say—in the social and political institutions of the present hour. It will be very interesting, I think, to try to trace some of these influences to their source, and to observe generally the phenomena which have attended the growth of that wonderful but not altogether unsatisfactory conglomerate, which is known as the British Constitution. And if ever such a theme was interesting, it is surely especially so now. Whether we look East or West—at home or abroad—we see the same signs and tokens everywhere. Accomplished or impending change,—political and social revolutions of the most rapid and sweeping character,—subject races and subordinate classes raised politically to the level of those who have hitherto been above them,—the governed becoming the governors—nominally equal, as the sharers in a common franchise, but practically supreme by reason of the excess of numbers: all this (as true, though not avowed, in America as in England) conceded by parties who had to be educated up to the point of concession to a populace who are not educated to the proper use of it. These are the circumstances which give great interest to the consideration of such topics as those I am about to bring before you: though it is rather to suggest than to discuss them, that I enter upon my task.

To compare the institutions of the Present and the Past, absolutely, and without reference to date, position and circumstances, is, of course, absurd. To try former institutions by present exigencies, and then to condemn them because they

would be miserably inadequate, and grossly unsuitable *now*, is neither philosophical nor reasonable.

That which is proper to a state of pupilage must of necessity be cast aside when the man becomes a man, unless he is "content to dwell in [childishness] for ever." And the life of a *Nation* has its childhood, youth, and maturity as truly as that of the individual man. If therefore we can find that in the days of our Forefathers, institutions were founded and flourished, which had their purpose and served it well; which helped on the progress and the growth of the noble English mind and the great English people: if we discover that when their function was fulfilled they made way for other agencies suitable to the more advanced stage, which had been reached by their means, and that these again were superseded in turn by legitimate and adequate successors, we find all that we have any right to expect: and we have neither right nor reason to grudge the admission of their relative, and even of their independent, absolute value.

I hope I have outgrown the romanticism which would dwell complacently upon all those aspects of the Past which both the Poet and the Novelist have so often and so admirably invested in unreal charms. I am no indiscriminating *Laudator Temporis acti*. I remember well the text, if not much of a sermon I once heard from the lips of one of the greatest of English Preachers—Mr. Melvill. "Say not thou—What is "the cause that the former days were better than these? for "thou dost not enquire wisely concerning this." (Eccl. vii. 10.)

The comparison of the Present with the Past is always interesting: but it will assuredly be both disappointing and very unprofitable if, as is sometimes done, even unconsciously, we carry with us as the test of merit, and standard of value, the present status and condition of society. It may be argued, and argued truly, that present institutions are a vast improvement upon those of our forefathers. It is so: and we enjoy

the benefit of it. Yet to them, our improved and highly-developed institutions would have been no benefit:—quite the reverse. The greatest advantage which political institutions of any age, or date, or country, *can* possess, is fitness: and of this fitness one of the chief elements is that they be exactly opportune. If those of our predecessors were so, that is enough. Their measure was proper to their height: our's is to our's. It may be a homely illustration, but it is no inapt one—the man's clothes would be both a disfigurement and an incumbrance to the growing stripling: as the boy's would be ridiculous on the man. Each, therefore, to his own:—*Suum cuique*. Compare each need with that which was meant to satisfy it. The boy's clothes will well befit the boy, as the man's the man:—but any attempt to make an interchange would, I fear, too aptly symbolize the confusion which would follow from putting political privileges into hands unable, because untrained, to wield them. Man is not made in sections, and put together like a piece of machinery: he *grows*, and his growth is not by leaps, *per saltē*, but proceeds insensibly. So all healthy political growth must come from the expansion of the native energy within: and not to be tacked on, or forced on from without.

Our home is not Arcadia, or Utopia, but England. Our constitution is a frightful and unsightly conglomerate; an indefensible anomaly, on paper, but it works admirably well in practice. When we find ourselves in the realms of the constitution-mongers, as *Touchstone* did in the Forest of Arden, we may well exclaim, with him:—“Ay, now am I in Arden; the more fool I: when I was at home I was in a better place.”

I submit, therefore, that the proper test to be applied to all political institutions is *suitability*. Tried by this test—the only fair one—the institutions of old England were by no means so defective as a superficial observer might be led to suppose. They had a purpose to fulfil, and they fulfilled it—

more or less completely, perhaps—but they were fitted to the work of the times, and they did it: whereas institutions such as our's, would have been beyond the necessity of the case—beside the purpose,—and would therefore have failed utterly, if even they were practicable. Our necessity is different: the remedy therefore must be, and accordingly *is*, different. The medicine which is health-restoring to one patient, is deadly as a draught of poison to another. I repeat it, the institutions of elder days did their work: they served their purpose: they had their day, and were done with. Then they were cast aside, into the Limbo of things worn out,

“Like a disabled pitcher—of no use.”

But all History shews us how tentative and experimental have been the efforts after Liberty. Milton, speaking of some of the Ecclesiastical Reformers in his day, complains that the change which should have been made to more freedom was to a greater tyranny:

“New Presbyter is but old Priest *writ large*.”*

The emigrants to New England, escaping from the thralldom for which they denounced the Stuarts, set up beyond the Atlantic a more hateful social tyranny of their own. There are subjects of the British Crown who cannot yet be trusted with Trial by Jury. There have been Electors (by courtesy styled “Free and Independent”) in the British Empire, who so shamelessly abused the electoral franchise, that they have been deprived of the privilege they proved themselves unworthy to enjoy, and it has been transferred from them to the freeholders of South Lancashire, and the ratepayers of Birkenhead.

Now we must carefully note this, as a general principle, without which we shall certainly go wrong—that all the phenomena observable in our past history, are the phenomena,

* POEMS, *On the Long Parliament*.

not of maturity, but of GROWTH. *These* are what we have to look for. If we find *them*, we ought to be satisfied. They are all which the nature of the case admits of. If we look for anything else, we look for that which we have no rational ground for expecting to find, and are therefore the authors of our own disappointment. It is not, I repeat, perfection we are to look for, but progress. And the progress is gradual; the growth continuous and healthy. Nothing indeed can be more interesting than to watch the developement of the life and energy of Nations. How admirably a new institution comes to the support of increasing strength and vigour, until that strength grows beyond the necessity for such support! Then, the institution is crushed by the pressure of that power which it has helped to foster, and has to make way for its successor. The Feudal and Monastic systems were not all bad: the Commercial and Manufacturing systems are not all good. Still

“There is some soul of goodness in things evil,
“Would men observingly distil it out.”*

Check and countercheck; action and re-action; office and opposition: this alternation describes the history of all our political organizations, and of their operation, from the Norman Conquest until now.

It may seem commonplace Philosophy—but it is not on that account to be set aside as unsound—to hold that, in this country of our's, we have generally got things when we have been ready for them. Well would it have been for other countries if the same thing had happened in them. In our case, when the fruit has been ripe, it has fallen into the hand ready to receive it: but where it has been rashly plucked before it was fully ripe, the gathering has been more of a bane than a blessing.

* Shakspeare. *King Henry V.* iv. 1.

And so we are brought to the conclusion, that the good old Institutions suited admirably those good old Times in which they flourished. When better times came, and better institutions were wanted, they were ready, and in waiting. And it is quite true, I think, that in this country it has been found that, generally speaking, and in the end, a little waiting does no harm; is indeed rather salutary than otherwise. The mind has thus had time to grow familiar with the subject, and the hand has been kept in training for its task. The prudent handicraftsman does not put his best tools into the hands of his unskilled apprentice. To do so would be nothing to the advantage of the apprentice; greatly to the damage of the tool; and no profit, either to the master, or the work in hand. Apply the simile on which side you please—to the generation of young workmen who are fulfilling their terms of apprenticeship, or to an immature people “serving their time” to the privileges of citizenship—it is equally appropriate, and equally true, in all its bearings.

And I do not think I am unfairly stating the case, or straining for a compliment to ourselves at the expense of our neighbours, when I say that the comparison of our experience with their's brings out this very instructive fact:—The manner of acquiring new and improved institutions in this country has been tolerably uniform. To feel the desire for them; to strive to obtain them; and to wait until we got them; has almost always been a part, and a very necessary part—of that process; that preparing, educating process—by which we have been rendered fit for them. In other countries where this slow and *educating* process has not been followed; where changes have been made suddenly, violently and passionately; where what Tennyson calls

“Raw Haste, half-sister to Delay,”

has most effectually done the work of Delay by Precipitancy—

there the cause of true Liberty has been thrown back, by the very efforts which were meant to urge it on. For, when the privileges and responsibilities of self-government are thrust upon a people who have neither been taught nor trained to the use and enjoyment of them, Tyranny has not long to wait for a complete triumph, and Freedom is for a season ostracised.

It has been said of Lord Chatham that he fancied he could make a political clock, which should go by the mere force of the *main-spring*, without the help of cog-wheel, pendulum, or balance : the consequence was, that his system, whenever it was set agoing, ran itself out in a moment. And it is to these checks and hindrances that we owe, in great measure, our security. For *safe* progression, resistance is no less necessary than propulsion. We require a propelling force to urge us onwards, but we must have a resisting force to keep us safe. The carriage often owes its safety to the drag ; and the train to the break. The stately vessel would topple over, and become a helpless wreck, if it were not for the steadying influence of that dead weight—the ballast in the hold. These things are an allegory. They convey a most important moral. Progress must often be slow in order that it may be sure : it must be gradual in order to be safe : we must use one advance forward as the platform to another—just as the Alpine traveller makes one foot-rest, which he has hewn in the slippery track, his stepping-point to another, and so prosecutes, with much labour and unflagging perseverance, his aspiring journey to the “ misty mountain’s top.”

And thus it becomes apparent, I think, that in the healthy developement and compact growth of political institutions, even prejudice and obstruction have their purpose. They are, it may be, useless lumber, as we think them, but they are the ballast in the ship’s hold, the bit in the steed’s mouth, the drag upon the carriage, the break upon the train ; and some

of us have seen sufficient cause sometimes to thank even the drag for our safety.

But now let us examine, very briefly, the fitness and relative position of some of the ancient Institutions of our country. Feudalism, Chivalry, and the Crusades, are not in our day the most popular themes one could select : but he can have looked very superficially at the phenomena of modern civilization, who has not perceived how deeply we are indebted to the separate and the reciprocal action of these several agencies. I have spoken of their *separate*, and of their *reciprocal*, action : for it is the reciprocal action of contemporaneous Institutions which evolves the most interesting incidents in historical phenomena, and conduces most directly to that developement of politics and peoples to which our attention is at present directed. Feudalism had an immense influence upon the Crusades, but it was the Crusades which dealt the death-blow at one of the distinguishing marks of Feudalism. Under the Feudal system every man was a soldier. He held his land by this tenure,—forty days' military service per annum. But the Crusades promoted the arts of peace by making war a separate profession ; and Chivalry took from it the ferocious character which it had previously borne, by suggesting honours and distinctions, and prescribing a gentler code which men became content and eager to follow, who, theretofore, had obeyed nothing but the strong will and the strong arm.

When Dr. Arnold saw the Locomotive Engine dash past Rugby, he exclaimed “ There goes the death blow to Feudalism.” Feudalism had done its work. But every system lives in its results : as the finished picture embodies and represents every touch, and tint, and shade which the artist has employed to conduce to the completed work before us. When the great Master of Rugby uttered the exclamation I have just quoted, the Feudal System and its institutions

had fulfilled their office. With how large an intermixture of good and evil their work was done, Sir James Mackintosh shall be our witness. He says (*Hist. Eng.*, I, 117) they probably “produced more misery in their first vigour, stirred “up more envy in their course, and left behind them more “good when the waters had dried up, than any other system “of laws by which the race of man have been governed.” Among other things, they elevated the social position of Woman, and cultivated and strengthened that feeling of local association and attachment, to which we owe so much of the pleasure of life. You remember that characteristic passage of Southey’s, in *The Doctor*: “For fifty years I had “known the old Cross in its old place: and if fifty years’ “acquaintance did not give us an affection even for stocks “and stones, we should be stocks and stones ourselves.”

Of these three institutions which I have mentioned—Feudalism, Chivalry, and the Crusades—let us for a moment glance at the results. They hurled back the tide of Mahomedan invasion. One religious fanaticism could only be adequately met by another. Nothing but a religious motive could at that time have united the discordant and jealous powers of Western Europe. Nothing less than such a motive could have united the various interests in our own country. Each of the social elements in existence asserted itself in turn; sometimes they were found acting together; sometimes in open hostility; sometimes one seeking alliance with another to check a third, and to play off *this* influence against *that*; and so on, in ways of which more recent statesmen are probably not too ignorant. So that even against an enemy so dangerous to nascent Liberty and infant Civilization as was the Moorish invasion of Southern Europe, nothing but religious sentiment could have united into one band the Saxon people and their Norman lords,—the imperious Monarch and his jealous Barons,—the settled

power of the Ecclesiastics, and the rising influence of the Citizens. The Crusades *did* this, and Christendom was saved thereby. And from these very Crusades, influenced and modified by other agencies which operated with them,—from them, as from a known determinate source, we can distinctly see that the Revival of Learning, the birth of modern Commerce, the diffusion of the Arts, and the distinctive character of our Civilization, (I was going to say : but I will go further and say) *the very attributes of our daily life and our ordinary indispensable home comforts—all—all* these, have taken their rise.

When I think of all we owe to those who led the way to the invention of printing by bringing the Greek literature into the West ; who gave us silk and sugar, clocks and wind-mills, paper and gunpowder, glass and the mariners' compass ; who thus made ocean navigation practicable and common by making it safe,—I cannot repress a feeling of admiration for those old times. I see how much was done, with very scanty opportunities and very limited means ; that seeds were sown of which we reap the fruits, and foundations laid which after ages built upon ; and that in the end, fabrics were constructed, “not for an age, but for all time,” of which we enjoy the protection to this day. And seeing this, it would, I think, argue a very narrow partisanship or other prejudice, to deny, what I am sure it is no less just than patriotic to assert, that—

“The men of old were men of might,
“In forms of greatness moulded.”

To be the descendants of such men is something. And it is an honour, which not only confers distinction, but imposes duties, to ourselves and to our posterity as well.

Thus we see that the actual progress made was very great, comparatively, and that there is something to be pleaded for it even when it seems unduly slow.

All Law is a restraint upon Liberty. But for the common good, every one tacitly submits to some curtailment of personal liberty. To the loyal subject, the more rigid and punitive restrictions are scarcely an inconvenience : to the disloyal and violent, these restraints, however irksome, are, in the interests of society, a necessity.

But all legal restraints may be divided into two classes : the absolute, and the comparative : those which are necessary, and those which are expedient. In the former class of cases the Law enacts punishments : in the latter, it imposes disabilities. But disabilities are, in their very nature, temporary, and contingent upon circumstances. You allow a boy more money, when he knows how to spend it : you give him more freedom, when he knows how to use it : the disability of the state of minority ceases at the age of twenty-one years, because the Law holds the heir to have attained to the ability to enjoy and employ his property himself. And so in the life of a Nation. When it is educated up to the full capability of appreciating and using a privilege, the disability involved in its being withheld may be removed. Now it is a very striking proof of what I have maintained is the *healthy* growth and progress of English Institutions, that, though our whole History is a history of enfranchisement, of the growth and extension of privilege, and the consequent removal of disability, there is scarcely one, if there is one, single noticeable exception to this most significant fact—that no privilege once conferred has been revoked ; no disability once removed has been reimposed. We know that in other countries this is far, very far, from having been the case. And it is surely the best possible proof that our national progress, if in some periods slow, has been healthy ; and if gradual, has been safe ; that every step forward has been a step finally gained ; an advance made good ; not a violent *impulse*, followed by a more violent *repulse*. And this last

remark opens to us a deep insight into those differences of national character which, under the guidance of that

“ —— Divinity which shapes our ends,
“ Rough-hew them how we will,”*

has so much to do with the matters we have now been considering.

National character moulds national institutions : and these institutions in their turn represent, reflect, and also influence the national character. When a people is impulsive and fickle, change will be common ; but improvement will be very doubtful as an immediate consequence, and very slow as an ultimate result. Retrogression will be as common as progression. But where steadiness of character prevails ; where changes are well considered before they are made, and safeguards are ready when they are wanted, there new political institutions will grow slowly up to the form of those previously existing, and to the requirements of the times, and will adapt themselves naturally thereto. Thus the *New* will become welded into and blended with the *Old*, and all together will become one grand, complete, and united whole : in this, resembling nothing so much as that august and venerable fane—the Abbey of Westminster—the work and the pride of successive generations, beneath whose sacred floor are gathered the greatest and worthiest representatives of the life, the faith, the wisdom, and the bravery of Englishmen. There is the shrine of Edward the Confessor, and there is the grave of Palmerston. In the interval between these two, come Crusaders and Cavaliers ; Poets, Divines, Scholars, and Statesmen, of various times ; Plantagenets, Tudors, and Stuarts—all have their names associated with the great national Temple, as all have left their impress on our great national Constitution. The analogy between these two is even closer still. Not only did they begin to exist together, but they have

* Shakspeare. *Hamlet*, v. 2.

grown together, and their growth and extension have been most remarkably the work of the self-same hands. The foundations of both were laid in Saxon times. The present shape and form of the Abbey was given to it by Henry III, in whose reign also was given its present shape and form to the British constitution, by the summoning of Parliaments.* Further extension in the Abbey in the times of the Tudors, and alterations subsequently, have their parallel in the Constitution also. Some things have been added to both, and some taken away. Some parts are crumbling with age, and on others the hands of the restorer and builder are still at work. Some have actually perished, and there have been found in some cases but indifferent substitutes. There have been monstrous additions, and very barbarous mutilations. Blemishes and defects, redundancies and solecisms are to be found in both : yet in their completeness, their oneness, their admirable symmetry and adaptation, they exhibit the same characteristics ; and vindicate their title to the admiration and pride of every man who feels that the birthright of an Englishman is something to be proud of.

* " Simon de Montfort rendered the parliament of that year (1265) the model of the British Parliament, and in a considerable degree affected the constitution of all other representative assemblies. It may indeed be considered as the practical discovery of popular representation."—Sir James Mackintosh, *Hist. Eng.*, i. 286.

" In 1265, in the celebrated Parliament summoned by de Montfort in Henry's name, at which the representation of the boroughs was created, the representation of the counties was undoubtedly placed or confirmed on its present basis, as the writs are still extant."—Creasy's *English Constitution*, 192.

THE LAKELAND OF LANCASHIRE.

NO. IV.—YEWDALE—TILBERTHWAITE—LITTLE LANGDALE—
SEATHWAITE.

By A. Craig Gibson, F.S.A., Hon. Curator.

(READ 6TH FEBRUARY, 1868.)

IN this, the fourth section of the series of papers on that portion of Lancashire which may properly be included in what is usually considered and visited as the Lake District, I intend to bring the subject to a close.

Besides what I have already noticed and what I mean to describe in this paper, there remains to the southward an extensive and most interesting range of country, comprising the Parishes of Cartmel and Colton, the Chapelry of Broughton, and the whole of the district known by the general designation of Low Furness ; all of which are sufficiently near to some of the lakes to entitle them to be described as forming part of the English lake country—but as their topography, their feudal and ecclesiastical history, and their physical, social and economic conditions have been investigated and largely dilated upon by others, it would be difficult to find sufficient new material to justify me in making any or all of them the subject of description or comment in one of these serial essays. Nothing is left, therefore, within the bounds I have prescribed for my dissertations, but the vales of Yewdale and Tilberthwaite and the Lancashire sides of those of Little Langdale and Seathwaite ; and of these I shall merely notice the leading features, with anything of interest they may present, referring you to well known publications in which their great

natural beauties have been described more minutely and more at length than may be thought necessary or proper on this occasion.

The vale of Yewdale is connected with the northern extremity of that of Coniston by a fine open gorge, the western pillar of which is formed by rocky heights, and the eastern by a wooded "how" or eminence of lesser altitude. As we advance into Yewdale it gradually widens eastward into a vale, wherein the long range of high picturesque crags forming its western side, the abundance of timber, natural and planted, the verdant fields, level in the centre of the vale and pleasantly undulated at the sides and extremities, and watered by one of the brightest and clearest of all streamlets, the quaint, old, grey farm houses, the bold, rugged front of Raven Crag closing it up on the north, and the succession of wooded heights forming its eastern boundary, all combine to make Yewdale perhaps the most charming of all the minor vales of a district whose unequalled scenery is made up entirely by an irregular alternation of hill and valley.

The sister vale of Tilberthwaite, still less known than Yewdale, is reached by a connecting pass, about half-a-mile in length, breaking sharply off from Yewdale-head to the north-west.

At first sight Tilberthwaite seems to consist of a small circular patch of cultivated ground set in a grand frame-work of rock-riven mountains, and fringed with copse and other timber, mainly of natural growth. The enormous heaps of broken stone lying here and there at the feet and along the sides of the hills show the extent to which slate-quarrying has been prosecuted here in former times. Most of the quarries whose several positions are indicated by these waste-heaps have long been abandoned, but some are still wrought, and both the disused and those in operation are worthy of inspection, their excavations are so extensive and so curiously

formed. In these two dales, and, indeed, in many other parts of the Lake country, there exist dells, ravines (there called ghylls), cliffs and waterfalls never seen or inspected by the visitor who merely follows the route laid down in the Itinerary or Guide Books; though they would more than repay any amount of trouble taken to discover them under their various screenwork of thick coppice-wood, overhanging crags, or precipitous fell-sides; and, although such counsel may be out of place here, I should advise those lovers of the picturesque who may visit the dales of the Lancashire Lake country to diverge from the road in Tilberthwaite and to follow for a few hundred yards upwards the course of the little stream which, descending from the wild heights of Weatherlam, there crosses the road and skirts the valley on its way to Yewdale and Coniston. A scramble, rather than a walk, of a quarter of a mile will bring such explorers to a deep, narrow glen and water-fall, of singular wildness and beauty—an utterly unthought of spot, which, had it existed in some localities, amongst a people less prosaic and more addicted to legend and romance, would have had some story attached to it. Indeed, it very strikingly resembles the famous Dobb's Linn in Moffat-dale, into which an old tradition, preserved in both prose and rhyme, tells, as the readers of Scott and Hogg will remember, that two valiant Covenanters drove Satan, in a hand to hand fight—the fiend, as he rolled over the edge of the gulph, turning himself into a bundle of “barkened hides,” that being supposed to be the form under which he would sustain the least amount of damage from the fall.

The beck forming this water-fall, as already noticed, runs through Yewdale and becomes a feeder of Coniston Water. Another, which also has its rise in the Tilberthwaite fells, takes a nearly opposite course, and becoming part of the river Brathay, contributes its tiny volume to the fair waters of

Windermere. Following the course of this latter rivulet, we soon come to that branch of the Brathay which, in Little Langdale, divides Lancashire from Westmoreland, and at about a mile from this point, making on its way the fine falls known as Colwith Force, debouches upon the little lake of Elterwater, into which a small promontory runs, which I have already indicated as the most northerly point of this County Palatine, and where those who have honoured me by hearing or reading these papers may remember, I, in the second of the series, commenced a circumambulatory description of the parish of Hawkshead, from whose borders I at length finally depart.

Little Langdale differs from most of the lake dales in possessing to a very small extent the level floor which, as De Quincey long ago pointed out, is characteristic of the mountain valleys of England. The sheet of water called Langdale Tarn, surrounded, as is usual with low-lying tarns, "by an unsightly tract of boggy ground," occupies the middle of a deep basin in the northern end of the vale. The depth of this basin and the mountain-girt character of the vale are aptly illustrated by the fact that the hamlet of Hallgarth, which straggles up a steep acclivity on the Lancashire or western side of the dale, is so overshadowed by the hill called Weatherlam and its offshoots, that it is altogether deprived of sunshine for about three months in the year. Slate working has been carried out very extensively in this vale also, as is evidenced by the large quarry-heaps on the side I refer to. Copper mining, too, was followed for many years, but not very profitably, in the wild glen called Greenbourne, running up amongst the hills on the same side.

In Westmoreland the hill called Lingmoor separates Little from Great Langdale. The name of this fell, which, to those who know that ling is the local term for the common heath-plant, has a derivation sufficiently apparent, is the subject of

one of the late Dr. Whitaker's fanciful Celtic etymologies. That reverend and eccentric philologist told us, in a paper read, I think, at a meeting of the Archæological Association at Lancaster, that Lingmoor is simply a vulgar modern corruption of Leon Mohr—the Great Lion—contending that the outline of the hill, in some aspects, suggests this derivation. I have looked at Lingmoor from every side, and never succeeded in discovering any such resemblance, and, except Dr. Whitaker, I have never known any one who did. The northern extremity of Lingmoor dips abruptly to form a pass between the heads of the two Langdales. This pass, a dark and dreary hollow, contains a sheet of water called Blea Tarn and a small desolate looking farm bearing the same name, where Wordsworth has placed the abode of the recluse whose story, character and opinions form a considerable portion of the poet's principal achievement "The Excursion;" the place itself being made the subject of one of the most admired descriptive passages in that great poem.

At the foot of the hills shutting in Little Langdale on the north, and marked by a small grove of sombre yews, stands the farm house of Fell-foot. It is a good specimen of the class of dwellings to which it belongs, but the chief interest attaching to it is in a tumulus of oblong rectangular form, in the garth immediately behind the farm buildings. This mound, evidently artificial, is of considerable length, breadth and height, with a flat summit, attained by two broad terrace-like roadways of very gradual ascent. Not very far from this tumulus, in a fine green dell or cove, a great number of small conical mounds are to be seen. It is probable that these are diminutive moraines formed when the remains of the last glacier in this south-facing valley were melting under the increasing power of the sun; but the possibility that they may be sepulchral barrows, suggested by the proximity of the probably judicial tumulus at Fell-foot, renders it desirable

that some of them should be explored and their real origin conclusively ascertained.

The summit of Wrynose pass, where the point of contiguity of the three counties, formerly marked by three rough pieces of stone, but now, I believe, indicated by a low triangular monolith, is reached by a tolerably even but very steep road, winding for nearly two miles up the mountain side. This road is known as the old pack-horse road, from the circumstance that most of the merchandise passing between the towns of Kendal and Whitehaven and their districts used to be carried along it, pannier-wise, on the backs of horses. I have conversed with several of the dales-folk who remember this primitive mode of transport being in operation. The cavalcade, led by a sagacious old black stallion, generally travelled unguarded. Their master and only attendant, rode a pony, and had a habit of taking his ease at his several inns along the line of route, following and overtaking the horses between his stopping-places and riding on to the next, where he would rest and drink until they had plodded patiently past, when, at his own good time, he would follow and repeat the process. It affords a remarkable evidence of the primitive honesty of the fell-district that though those horses were well known to traverse these unfrequented roads unattended, and generally laden with valuable goods—thus offering a continually recurring invitation to robbery—no robbery was ever known to occur. I fancy there are very few parts of the world for the people of which so much as this could be said with such perfect warrant.

The river Duddon, which serves as the line of demarcation between Lancashire and Cumberland, from its source to the sea, takes its rise near to the three shire-stones. I need hardly call attention to the beautiful series of sonnets of which Wordsworth has made this fell-born river the theme, and to which it owes the celebrity it enjoys. Though said by those

who know the locality, its associations and its people intimately, to be somewhat overstrained in description as well as in sentiment—and though they are altogether unknown to those whose homes and habits they profess to illustrate, the sonnets on the Duddon undoubtedly hold a very high position in the estimation of all who are supposed to be qualified by taste and study to sit in judgment upon the high-class poetry of England.

By the lovers of the English lake country, amongst whom I reckon myself not the least ardent, it is boasted that, unlike any other district held to possess the same character—notably the Highlands of Scotland, where miles and miles of blank, monotonous moorlands have to be traversed in passing from one scene of beauty to another—no part of the English lake district can be travelled over for more than a mile or so without bringing the traveller to some new variety of scenery, with beauty sufficient to satisfy the most exigent taste for the charms of Nature in her fairest garb. The head of Duddon-dale, or, as it is more frequently called, Seathwaite, offers, however, a striking exception to this almost universal rule. Compared with the luxuriant beauty or stern grandeur or both interblended, of most of its sister dales, Seathwaite in its first two miles must accept a very inferior status. At its head it is dreary and sterile in the extreme. Its poet-laureate (once the Queen's) has well said—

“Desolation is thy patron saint.”

And, as it offers an example of monotony in its scenery that is uncommon in the general district, it also offers an illustration, by no means uncommon, of the peculiarly unpoetical character of the dales-people, of their want of interest in the past and their remarkable neglect of tradition. According to several of the older residents with whom I have talked, there were formerly to be seen here, at a considerable distance from any house or cultivable land, a number of graves arranged in

two rows. In my time they had all but disappeared, either through the subsidence of the mounds or the upgrowth of the surrounding soil, so that a stranger might hardly discover their existence. The neighbours, however, spoke of them as having been only recently very distinct; but except that they were often spoken of by the worthy people, and always as "the graves," there was not the slightest trace of their origin or their history found to be recoverable.

The first house in the dale on the Lancashire bank of the stream is a farm called Cockley Beck,—on the Cumberland side, another called Black Hall. This latter reminds me of a passage in a work, now rather scarce, written about half-a-century ago by an artist resident in the district, and already quoted, which details a trivial adventure of the author's in 1807 and affords an interesting picture of the hospitable and patriarchal mode of life then, and, to some extent, still, followed by the people of this dale. The author, speaking of himself in the third person as the artist, says—"From the summit of the hill he slanted on the right of the road down to Black Hall, where he found the good-humoured family at dinner on mountain mutton; when he willingly joined them and fared sumptuously and happily along with an honest but blind itinerant bread merchant* and his wife, who bore their means upon their backs, as the shepherds do their sheep and the artist his folio, which he now buckled upon his shoulders, and departed in rain and gloom, though not without many entreaties from Mr. and Mrs. Tyson to induce him to stay till morning. Black Hall, which was then rented from Lord Muncaster by Mr. Tyson, is little more than half-a-mile from Cockley Beck, which latter place was Mr. Tyson's property, and these two farms, with another called Gait Scale, had unitedly attached to them

* Probably James Rigg of Bowness-on-Windermere. See Hogg's *Poetic Mirror*.

“ upwards of two thousand sheep ; all of which were shepherded by Mr. Tyson and his family, but since his death the farms are shared by his sons.” Also connected with this secluded farm of Black Hall we have a spice of that romance of which, except in its physical attributes, the district, as already inferred, is so wofully destitute. The family occupying it as tenants say that they and their ancestors have held the farm in uninterrupted succession for nine hundred years—a rather startling boast for unimaginative people to indulge in ; but as their landlords claim to have been seated at the place from which they take their family name—the village of Pennington in Low Furness—for many generations before the Conquest, it may not be quite so unfeasible as at first it appears.

The scenery of Seathwaite improves all the way down. About the middle it is wild, almost chaotic ; lower still it is very beautiful. Its scenery, however, as well as its river, farms, people, church, parsonage and clergymen, have already been described so frequently and so fully that I may be excused from repeating such description. But with its poetic and literary associations, its peculiar natural beauty and its inhabitants, to whom the primitive roughness and primitive virtues of the dales have clung more tenaciously than to any of the neighbouring dales-folk, Seathwaite will repay any attention or study bestowed upon it, and to those who wish to know more than I may now relate, I should say that much may be found about it in Wordsworth’s Sonnets and notes ; in the Rev. Canon Parkinson’s little book, *The Old Church Clock* ; in *Rambles by Rivers*, by Henry Thorne, one of Charles Knight’s shilling volumes ; in a very pleasant and readable volume, the title of which I forget, by the Lancashire Bard, Edwin Waugh ; and in the little work referred to in my paper on Coniston as being in the Society’s library, and called, after the most prominent feature of the Lancashire

lake country, *The Old Man*, which, if less ambitious and more prosaic, is perhaps quite as trustworthy as any of its more distinguished compeers, the author stating that all his facts are drawn from personal observation and from frequent and long continued intercourse with the people.

In connection with the sparse archæology of High Furness, I may mention that, some five and twenty years ago, when I first became familiar with the vale of Seathwaite, I was surprised as well as interested by being informed by a native of the dale, quite uneducated and not supposed to be very intelligent, that on the slope of Walna Scar, over which the road to Coniston passes, the remains of an Ancient British town are to be found. These ruins have been inspected by myself and by others more qualified to pronounce an opinion upon them, and all who have so examined them incline to the belief that the extent of the foundations yet traceable, and the character of the portions of wall yet remaining, bear out the old miner's account of their origin, which, by the way, must have been founded on tradition alone. I should be glad if any members of this Society, at their next visit to the Lakes, would make a point of visiting these remains and deciding—a task to which many amongst us are fully competent—the question whether the Walna Scar ruins are, what they certainly appear to be, a genuine antiquity, or what a Seathwaite shepherd asserted to me they are, namely peat-scales—that is, places for protecting turf-fuel from the weather until convenience may serve to have it carried home. Scale, a very common Norse-derived constituent, signifies in local nomenclature a place of shelter. It is possible that they are both, for the old walls may have been irreverently utilized in this prosaic manner.

On the Coniston side of Walna Scar, at no great distance from the road, which scarcely merits the name, may be seen the wild, rock-lined dell called Gait's or Goat's Water, which

exceeds in savage grandeur of aspect perhaps any other scene in England ; and on the wild moor called Bannasyde, which the same road crosses, another doubtful antiquity occurs. Extensively sprinkled over its surface are great numbers of circular stone-heaps, which are set down in the Ordnance Maps as " Cairns." Several of these heaps have been explored, without result. The country people laugh at these explorations, and call the cairns clearings of the bracken-beds—that is, stones gathered from the numerous plots of bracken (the *Pteris aquilina* fern) which grows very abundantly there, and is mown by the dale farmers to serve as a substitute for straw, of which their limited extent of arable land affords but a scanty supply, as bedding for cattle. The sepulchral origin of exactly similar aggregations on other moors, at no great distance from this, has been proved beyond dispute, and it is quite possible that some of these may be entitled to the name they bear on the maps.

On the same moor and in some adjacent parts I remember coming upon several curious excavations, in the form of inverted hollow cones, lined with stone neatly built in, and showing evident marks of having been subjected to the action of fire. I thought I had discovered some Pictish remains, analogous, rather distantly perhaps, to the vitrified forts of Scotland. It was, therefore, somewhat ungraciously that I received the information from a neighbouring farmer that they were a primitive and long disused form of limekiln. The proximity of most of these pits to the remarkable band of transition rock known to geologists as the Coniston limestone, led me to accept this information as correct, and I only discovered their real character on accidentally hearing similar pots, near to Windermere, called bracken ovens, and on enquiring there, finding that, like the heaps of slag scattered over the country, they were relics of a long abandoned branch of local industry—that of burning the fern plants

to supply the principal material for the manufacture of potash.

The road, so often mentioned, after crossing the pass of Walna Scar at an elevation of some 2000 feet, descends to the level of Bannasyde Moor, passes below the southern and easiest slope of the Old Man Mountain and again descends, rather abruptly, into the vale and village of Coniston, where our topographical examination may be appropriately brought to a conclusion.

In these papers, save in connection with some incident, locality, or tradition, I have not touched upon the peculiarities or attributes of the people of this beautiful portion of our great manufacturing county. They are simply those of the natives of the general Lake district, modified, at Coniston, considerably, by the settlement there of miners from Wales, Ireland, Cornwall and some other English counties. With this exception, the conclusions arrived at in the first paper I had the honour of reading to this Society in 1857,—“The ‘people of the English Lake Country, their Origin, History and Character,’ apply to the people of this part of the said county in the same degree as to those of the whole district.

ARCHITECTURE.

To carry out my intention of leaving no characteristic of the Lakeland of Lancashire unnoticed, it is requisite that I devote some little space to the consideration of its architecture, though of the architecture of High Furness there is but little to be said. Its ecclesiastical edifices, the churches of Hawkshead, Coniston and Torver I have already described, the first being the only ancient church in the district, the second modern except the tower, and the third altogether new, and occupying the site of a rude old chapel of some historic interest. The chapels of Brathay, Wray, Satterthwaite and Seathwaite require no more than the passing



RIBY & WILLIAMS,

LIVERPOOL.

FARM IN TILBERTHWAITE.

notice that they have received. Of feudal architecture the district has none. Castles, Towers, Peels, and fortified Halls, as well as Abbeys and Priories, abound on its outskirts, but so far as I am aware there is no trace of any place of strength or defence in any part of the interior of the lake country, certainly none in its Lancashire portion. The dales-people probably trusted to their difficulty of access and their poverty, as affording sufficient protection against all marauders.

Of the baronial hall of the Tudor period Coniston Hall is the only example remaining, and of it all has been said that is necessary. Hawkshead Hall, the ecclesiastical character of part of the offices of which has been noticed, was never the residence of any family of distinction but originally that of the Abbot's bailiff and his retainers, consequently though of considerable antiquity, it bears no appearance of anything superior to the ordinary homestead of a substantial yeoman.

Of domestic architecture the only characteristic specimens are to be found in the houses of old date upon the dale farms. Most of these, until within the last half century, were inhabited by the owners of the soil, who though equally tillers of the earth and feeders of the herds, were and are, in the lake country, distinguished from tenant farmers by the local title of 'statesmen.

Their houses are mostly very substantial in structure and tolerably commodious in arrangement and proportion. The walls are built of the dark-coloured cleavable rock of the district, with a very spare allowance of mortar. Their roofs are covered with the native slate, which, on the older houses, has been very imperfectly riven, and laid on in lumps that may well be described as rough stone slabs rather than slates. These materials give the old farm houses a very rugged and primitive aspect, and, combined with the massive chimneys, rude balconies and pent-houses, porches and other projections,

latticed windows and heavy, studded doors, render many of the class attractive and favourite subjects for painters.

The interior accommodations of the more antique and characteristic examples of this variety of residence consist, first, of a large, roomy apartment called "the house," into which the main door generally opens past a small partition styled in Cumberland, very poetically, "the God-speed," probably from the old custom of bidding God "speed the "parting guest" as he passed it—"the coming" guest being welcomed at the fireside. This apartment, in which the family sit and take their meals, has generally, at the end farthest from the door, a wide square chimney raised high over a grateless fire. The fuel being peat, sometimes mingled with logs of wood, the fire is always made upon the blue-flagged floor, and the cooking is performed in pans suspended over the fire by crooks and chains which hang generally from some cross beam far up the chimney. These hearth fires, as they are called, are very cheerful and rather picturesque to look at, and, as I have often experienced, very pleasant to sit by in winter. The furniture of this living-room or "house," has, in many instances, served several generations, probably without change or addition. The portion to be noticed first, because most conspicuous and most characteristic, is one, or perhaps two, of those large old cabinets of dark oak, common in the district and there called "kists." Often fixtures and always heirlooms, they are more or less ornamented with carved work, and bear, in bas-relief, the initials of their first possessors, with the date of their manufacture, mostly some year of the sixteenth or seventeenth century. The article next to these kists in importance, and perhaps of equal age, is the tall dark-cased clock, with brass face and stumpy hands, generally a capital time-keeper and at least an hour before the day to secure early rising and induce early going to bed. Across and beneath the window the massive table stands on

which the family meals are served, and sometimes against the opposite wall, a dresser, which however is not universal. The good man's own big chair occupies the cosiest nook by the fire, and with the mistress's low seat, some old fashioned heavy legged chairs of oak, a few stools and perhaps a fixed "bink" constitutes the sitting conveniences of the household and of their occasional guests. The parlour, which is also the bed-chamber of the master and mistress, opens from "the house" place, and these, with the dairy, the buttery and perhaps a sort of scullery, occupy the whole of the ground floor. A rude stair, not long, but generally steep and narrow, leads to one or two spacious lofts in which the junior members of the family and the servants, if any, take their rest. The appearance of these lofts, with uneven, often loose flooring, clumsy wide seamed doors, rough beams and rafters and rougher slates visible over all, is suggestive of anything rather than of comfort; those who occupy them, however, aware of nothing superior, are satisfied with the accommodation and shelter they afford. The sanitary conditions of these old farms are by no means satisfactory. The dwelling house generally forms one side or part of a side of the farm yard, the front door opening directly upon the midden-stead. I know more than one farm house so arranged, which bear the ugly reputation of always subjecting the families of new tenants to a seasoning fever, just as though they had moved to some sickly station within the tropics. Of course remonstrance or counsel is utterly thrown away in these cases, and would probably elicit only some such response as I have heard—"Wha iver heard o' cow-muck making any body "badly?"

The bridges of the district may next be noticed, and some of the older specimens are truly worthy of notice. These, generally foot bridges, combine very strikingly in their construction and design, the dissimilar qualities of rudeness and

elegance. Wordsworth, writing some sixty years ago of the bridges of the lake country generally, at which period they were much more numerous than at this day, says, "To the smallness of the several properties is owing the great number of bridges over the brooks and torrents, and the daring and graceful contempt of danger or accommodation with which so many of these are constructed, the rudeness of the forms of some, and their endless variety. But," he continues, "when I speak of this rudeness, I must at the same time add, that many of these structures are in themselves models of elegance, as if they had been formed upon principles of the most thoughtful architecture." That called Slater's Bridge, connecting Lancashire with Westmoreland in Little Langdale, is a favourable and well preserved specimen of these peculiar structures, which are fast disappearing. It springs with a fine bold sweep from bank to bank, and being elevated considerably above the level of the adjoining ground, is seen to great advantage, and in the up-stream view, forms a very pleasing feature in the foreground of a fine landscape. It is constructed of a layer of the native flagstones set edge ways, at varying angles to the surface of the stream—their lower edges, in close apposition, forming the under surface of the arch, while the upper edges, here and there separated by interposed fragments of the same material, form the roadway. This is one of the few specimens of the ancient bridge of the district now remaining, and I trust it may long be preserved to illustrate, with its rugged masonry, so interesting from its simplicity and durability, its gracefulness of outline and its boldness of span, the engineering skill of those "rude forefathers" of the dale who erected it at some date of which no record has been preserved.

Another variety of bridge, once very common but now also becoming rare, and of still more primitive and rude construction and plan than that just described, is formed of two huge



L. POOL.

RIBY & WILLIAMS

ANCIENT STONE BRIDGE
IN LITTLE LANGDALE.

undressed flagstones meeting on a central pier reared in the bed of the stream it spans. The best example of this variety that I am cognizant of as still existing, may be seen at Yewdale, not far from the venerable tree that has given its name to the valley.

A curious example of bridge building, where the natural formation of the ground is made in a very striking and effectual manner to subserve the purposes of utility, is seen in a modern bridge connecting Lancashire with Cumberland in the vale of Seathwaite, and called Birk's Bridge. The river Duddon has made its way through a deep gully between two perpendicular, or rather perhaps, overhanging walls of natural rock, and these have been converted into the piers of a small bridge which spans the chasm and rests upon end-supports more secure perhaps than any other similar structure in the kingdom.

HERALDRY.

I have sketched very slightly the traceable history of the few landed families of the district, and did not intend to refer to them further. One subject however commends itself to our attention before quitting the locality of those ancient houses, and that is certain peculiarities in their heraldic bearings which have not hitherto been brought under the observation of those interested in that attractive vestige of feudal institutions and territorial dignity. The heraldry of High Furness has been given pretty fully and concisely by West in his "Synopsis of Furness Families." There are one or two points, however, not touched by that author which, as being illustrative of the history or connections of those families, may properly enough receive a brief notice in an essay professing to deal with everything of interest which their district presents to our investigation.

Thus, as West has remarked, the Flemings of Coniston and Rydal are amongst the many families of note that have

adopted the armorial device of the fret. This bearing is known familiarly to dabblers in the noble science as the Harrington knot. It is probable that the Flemings are of greater, at any rate of more ascertainable antiquity than the Harringtons, but the elder branch of the former house merged in that of the latter, which rose to higher dignity and power, about or soon after the time that heraldic distinctions became general (for there was nothing worthy of the name of heraldry prior to the date of the first Crusade) than the remaining branch of the Flemings; and such family connection may account for the assumption by the said branch, of the Harrington knot, with only a change of tincture—the original bearers of that well-known cognizance giving sable, a fret argent—the Flemings, the same device on a field gules, a more showy shield but perhaps a less striking or tasteful. The resemblance of this fret to the mesh of a fishing net—with its terse motto, *nodo firmo*—has suggested the idea that in its origin it referred to the herring fishery prosecuted as the principal form of industry at the sea-side manor whence the family, whose name it bears, in whatever colour, or on whatever shield it appears, received that name; and that Harrington was once *Herrington*. Such *ex post facto* explanation is by no means rare in heraldry. This however is weakened by the fact that the said manor, Harrington in Cumberland, their first seat, was never Herrington, but appears in the oldest charters as Haverington and even Haveringham.

The Curwens of Workington, whose connection with this district I have already noticed, and who distinctly trace their descent from the marriage of a brother of Fulk, Earl of Anjou and King of Jerusalem, ancestor of the Plantagenet Kings, with Elgiva, daughter of the Saxon monarch Ethelred, a lineage perhaps the proudest in the kingdom, have also assumed the Harrington knot, but in the modified form of of fretty—viz., Argent, fretty gules, a chief azure—rather

a gaudy coat. The sister of a Curwen—or Culwen—indeed, of the first who assumed the present family name, was married to Harrington of Harrington, a connection which may account for their fretty shield.

Besides the Flemings, the Sandyses of Greythwaite are the only family of rank now in Furness Fells whose armorial bearings are of early date; those of their neighbours, the Rawlinsons, having been granted only in 1662. The Sandyses are said to have been seated originally at Burgh-upon-Sands, an old and famous barony at the head of the Solway, and thence, in ancient charters they were denominated *de Sabulonibus*. Their arms, Or, a fess dancetté between three cross crosslets, are those, counterchanged, of the noble family of Engaigne, lords of that barony, of whom probably the Sandyses held their lands as they held of the Crown. I have been told that the fess dancetté on these ancient shields bears allusion to the watery character of the locality of Burgh-upon-Sands, though such is more frequently indicated by a fess or bend undy or wavy, the former being shewn in the arms of the adjacent city of Carlisle.

The Penningtons of Pennington and Muncaster, though first a *Low* Furness, and afterwards, as they still are, a Cumberland family, have long been connected with the Lancashire lake country as lords of the manor of Tilberthwaite. Their arms are of considerable interest from being the same, counterchanged, as those of the great Percies of Northumberland, viz., Or, five fusils in fess azure. This similarity is remarkable, the two coats being the only instances of five fusils in fess existing probably in the four northern counties, and indicating, as we may infer, some ancient alliance or brotherhood in arms when the Percy, assuming what was commonly considered the prerogative of a monarch, (he was little less than a king in the North,) granted to this family the privilege of bearing his arms with the slight alteration

stated. Possibly the occasion so inferred may be that alluded to on the tomb, in Muncaster Church, of Sir John de Pennington, who gave shelter to Henry the Sixth, and received in return from him the mystic crystal goblet known as the Luck of Muncaster, after the disastrous battle of Towton or of Hexham—it is not quite certain which. The inscription on said tomb concluding with the intimation that this Sir John “was a grete captain and heded the lefte wyng of the
“armie agayne the Scotties ; whylles Erle of Northumberland
“heded the mayne bodie.”

In concluding this series of papers I would ask permission of the Society to acknowledge obligation to my kind and much-valued friends—The Rev. Haygarth Baines of Satterthwaite, the Rev. H. Taylor Baines of Hawkshead Grammar School, Montague Ainslie, Esq., of Grizedale Hall, Joseph Barratt, Esq., of Holywath, William Jackson, Esq., of Fleatham House, St. Bees, Mr. Roger Bowness of Coniston, and Mr. Thomas Taylor of Sawrey, for statistics and other information ; also to Mr. M. Bowness of Ambleside for the beautiful photographic views, and T. Lindsey Aspland, Esq., of Esthwaite How, for the fine drawings with which my readings have been so profusely and so effectively illustrated, and to the last-named gentleman and the Rev. T. Tolming of Coniston for much valuable information as well as for the sketches which have been engraved and published in the Society's *Transactions*.

ARCHITECTURAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL
SKETCH OF THE ROMANO-BRITISH PERIOD,
WITH REFERENCE TO THE EXCAVATIONS
AT WROXETER.

By Henry H. Vale, F.R.I.B.A.

(READ JANUARY 23RD, 1868.)

IN order to realize the style and character of the buildings which existed in Britain during the Roman occupation, we must have recourse not only to the writings of the contemporary Latin authors, but also to the descriptions of the numerous vestigia of cities, villas and encampments, which have been from time to time discovered in our island.

We are informed by Tacitus* that in thirty years after the landing of Cæsar, the Britons had acquired the art of building as practised by the Romans, which was very similar to that adopted in Italy; and from this period till about the middle of the fourth century, all the arts connected with Architecture flourished in our island. Each Roman colony and free city became in fact a little Rome, surrounded by strong walls, and adorned with temples, palaces, courts, halls, basilicas, baths, markets, and other public buildings. The towns were connected by well-made roads, along the sides of which the wealthy Romans erected their villas, some of them being of great magnificence, adorned both with statuary and painting. So rapidly did the knowledge of Architecture spread in Britain that as early as 296 A.D., when Constantius rebuilt

* Tacit. vita Agric. c. 21.

the city of Autun, in Gaul, he was furnished with workmen from this island, which Eumenius* says abounded with the best artificers, and it is well known that Constantine drafted off crowds of British workmen when he built his new capital on the shore of the Bosphorus.

We may suppose that the Romans, in founding towns and cities in their colonies, observed similar ceremonies to those practised in Italy. Plutarch† gives an account of the founding of Rome, which, with some slight variations, would in all probability apply to the Roman cities in Britain. He says they first dug a trench and threw into it the earliest fruits of all things, and each man took a small turf of the country whence he came and cast it into the trench; with this as a centre they described the city around it; then the founder, with a brazen ploughshare and a yoke of bullocks, drew a deep furrow upon this bounding line, those who followed being particular that all the clods of turf fell inwards towards the centre: upon the line so described they built the enclosure wall of the city. From the remains of such walls in Britain we find that they varied in height from fifteen to thirty feet, and in thickness from nine to fifteen or sixteen feet. Some of these walls had circular towers on the angles, (or bevilled, as at Isurium, where the walls were of solid work sixteen feet thick,) added after the square corners had been finished, and not built as integral parts of the structure—as we find them in our mediæval city walls. The same method was adopted in the square towers standing at intervals along the faces of the Roman walls; these latter towers were built solid, to a height of about eight feet from their foundations, and hollow above, but tied into the main wall only at their summits. The construction of the walls is totally different from our present manner of building; in South Britain it

* Eumenii panegyri 8.

† Plutarch in Romul.

consisted of an inner and an outer facing of coursed work, with rows of tiles at intervals in the height to serve as ties ; these parallel facings were filled in with concrete. We should here remark that in Roman walls north of Isurium few tiles appear, the exterior surfaces were roughly scabbled or hammer-dressed, and sometimes worked into chevrons and other patterns by means of channeling or grooving ; mason's marks, as in mediæval work, have been found upon the Roman masonry ; the stones were slightly wedge-shaped, radiating inwards ; for the purpose of giving a better key to the mortar, the Roman city walls were frequently battered on their vertical section. What impresses one most forcibly in examining the remains of the Roman masonry in Britain is the peculiar mosaic-looking squareness of the blocks, in this respect so unlike the laminated character of middle age work ; and to correct the absence of bond resulting from the use of this description of masonry, the Roman builders had recourse to the use of tiles or bricks.

At Richborough the first bonding course occurs at the height of five feet from the footings of the wall, and is repeated upwards at intervals of three feet three inches or four feet three inches, but no fixed rule can be established respecting the distance from one such course to another. The inner and outer facings were first built to a certain height in a compact manner, and then the interspaces were filled in with a concretionary mass. The mortar used was composed principally of lime, sand, gravel, broken tiles and pebbles : when the walls had to be carried to a considerable height, the greatest pains were bestowed upon the footings, which were frequently composed of flags from two to four inches in thickness, and eighteen to twenty inches in breadth ; they were placed under the outer and inner facings of the wall, and projected several inches beyond them. The lower courses of the facings were usually of a hard whin stone, and worked

to larger dimensions than the stones of the general superstructure, they also stood out slightly in advance of it. The excavations were from a foot to eighteen inches deep. Where the above-mentioned flags were not used, we find broad oak planking, two inches thick, serving a similar purpose. The stone used for walling was generally from neighbouring quarries, but at Richborough stone has been found which is supposed to have been brought from France.

Through the massive enclosure walls, such as we have described, were huge gateways leading into the Romano-British city, which were guarded by strong towers. At Borcovicus the portals were double, each having a wooden gate in two leaves bound with iron, which moved upon metal pivots; these gates closed upon an upright stone standard of colossal dimensions. The areas of the cities varied. The enclosure walls of Uriconium, which we purpose taking as a representative Romano-British city, are supposed to have been three miles in circumference. The streets within the walls were usually narrow, like those of our walled towns of the middle ages, paved with boulders in the centre, the sides being often unpaved, but having hewn stone gutters beside the footpaths. The streets had large sewers underneath them, as at Uriconium, with pipes to conduct the sewage from the houses into them.

On examining the remains of Roman cities in Britain, it is often very difficult to fix the precise nature and appropriation of the various buildings, excepting in cases where inscriptions, or tombs, or altars have been discovered *in situ*. The writings of Vitruvius, although considered to be of the highest authority respecting the building arts of the Romans, throw but a faint glimmer of light upon the remains of the towns, villages and country residences belonging to this period that have been found in Britain. The rules given by Vitruvius for the planning of the Roman villa in particular will be

found to have been violated, in almost every instance, when we come to examine such ground plans of this description of building as can be traced.

The writers upon the city of Uriconium describe the remains of the basilicæ and of the baths; but much that has been advanced by antiquaries respecting such matters must be taken *cum grano salis*, and until a larger surface shall have been cleared, and the foundations of the buildings laid bare, we must look upon these matters as more or less hypothetical; for example, the fact of the so-called baths having been baths in reality is to us at least somewhat doubtful. The mere existence of hypocausts and caleducts, or heat-conducting flues, fails to furnish any real evidence; the only deductions from such remains being that these tile flues must have formed part of the appliances for warming or heating certain apartments above them; but whether these apartments belonged to baths, or houses, or shops, or granaries, must remain open to conjecture. There is one peculiarity respecting some of the so-called baths which is somewhat puzzling, namely, that no evidences of the existence of doorways leading into them from the streets, courts or corridors, have as yet been discovered in their walls, which are standing in some instances to the height of from two to three feet above the general level of these approaches; the walls are two feet six inches in thickness, with the putlog holes, still running through them. The absence of entrances would certainly lead us to the conclusion that the so-called baths were in fact nothing more than huge vats or cisterns, the receptacles for some such produce as grain, which might be thrown in from the top and removed again by throwing it out overhead, as in emptying a cargo of corn from a ship's hold; thus we might reasonably infer, from the absence of doorways and the rude character of the masonry, that the buildings to which these hypocausts belonged were simply

the *granaries* of Uriconium, built to contain the Roman tithe corn of a large surrounding agricultural district; and the fact of a *quantity of wheat, charred and blackened*, having been discovered in or near these hypocausts strengthens this opinion. We find that in the Roman colonies a law obtained,* compelling the farmers to bring a certain fixed quantity of corn to the tithing stations, which were established by the officers of the imperial treasury for the purpose of housing such produce, prior to its shipment from Britain, whence it was transported either to Rome or to other colonial stations on the Continent. Britain, in the time of the Romans, was pre-eminently a corn-producing country, whence large quantities were annually exported to Germany and the Rhine.

The peculiar nature of the excavated portion of Uriconium, the absence of doorways to the so-called baths, as we have seen, the finding of grain in the hypocausts, the rude character of the supports to the flooring (unlike the neatly-worked stone pillars which have been found at Deva and at other well-known Romano-British stations, in the hypocausts underneath the baths), and the general rustic character of the whole masonry, with its unfilled putlog holes, having led us to suppose these chambers to have been vats for drying grain, which had been brought into the tithing house, probably in a damp or mildewed state, the result of badly-gathered harvests, or injuries from the weather in its transit thither from great distances,—we proceeded to ascertain whether the derivation of the name Uriconium might not bear upon the question in some manner, and on turning to the best Latin authorities† we find the word *urica* to mean injury to corn from caterpillars developed in the grain by damp or mildew, and that *onus* bore the signification of a tax. Now by dropping the final *a* in *urica*

* Lipsius de Magnitud, Rom. l. 2, c. 1. Heineccius Antiq. Rom., l. 1.

† Plin., l. 18, c. 44, et l. 11, c. 37. Columella, l. 9, c. 3.

and changing *onus* into *onium*, we have at once the word Uriconium; and without straining the meaning of the name, we may take it to signify a place *for drying the tithed corn injured by damp*.

In Ainsworth's Latin Dictionary we find the word *urica* thus translated,—“a hurt coming to all manner of grain by “too much moisture,” that is, in such a state as to require to be placed in a kiln in order to parch it and prepare it for grinding in the quern, carried about by the Roman soldiers.

The word *urica* is frequently spelt by the classical authors “*eruca*,”* and if we take this rendering of the word, it will be found to approximate closely in sound to the first part of the Saxon name for Uriconium, that is Wroxester, by contraction Wroxeter. We may suppose that on the departure of the Romans and the removal of their taxes on corn, the Saxons would drop the final *onium*, signifying a tax; but as they would still use the hypocausts for drying their own corn, the name of the place might take the form Eruccester, from “*eruca*” and “*castra*,” by contraction this word Eruccester would become Eruxeter, or, dropping the initial *e* (scarcely sounded), Wroxeter. In this manner some worse etymological theories have been made; the present one was suggested entirely by the physical aspects of the place.

The supports of the hypocausts which have been discovered at Uriconium, and the absence of high art, lead us to the conclusion that this city was one of much less importance than Deva and the other Romano-British stations, where objects have been found of a much more artistic type. The *débris* of Wroxeter is, however, especially interesting to the architectural archæologist, as amongst it are found the remains of building materials in considerable variety, such as bricks, tessellæ, flue tiles, flooring tiles, and roof-

* Plin., l. xviii, c. 44; Columella, l. xi, c. 3.

ing tiles, with the nails by which the latter were fastened to the battens of the roof, large quantities of masonry, with some little moulded and ornamental stone work, as well as specimens of the Roman grout, mortar, and cement. The accumulation of soil for ages over the site of Uriconium has caused these interesting relics to be preserved to us in almost as fresh a condition as they were when the city was overwhelmed by the barbarians, after the departure of the Romans.

The remains of Aldborough and other Romano-British cities in the North, shew the streets to have been narrow, and the buildings poor, small, and closely packed together, with narrow alleys or wynds running between them, similar to those that we find in our mediæval cities, caused in the latter case, and probably also in the former, by the circumscribing lines of their great enclosure walls, preventing a more ample distribution of building sites. And this would seem to have been the case at Uriconium, one of these narrow alleys is seen running up between two buildings, to the left as you enter the city; this, however, may have arisen from another cause, if we may credit one of the Roman historians,* who informs us that the Romans imposed taxes in all the provinces of the empire, not only upon houses, pillars, hearths, etc., *but also on the very air itself*. The courtyards were paved with bricks three inches long by one inch broad, set herring-bone fashion, the centre of the streets were paved with boulders, somewhat like our roads before the invention of macadam. The walls of the Roman houses in Britain seem to have been three feet in thickness, faced with masonry, which formed a frame for a rough concretionary rubble filling-in, like the city walls; the divisions between two rooms being often as much as three feet in thickness. The properties of bond of Gothic masonry appear not to have been understood by the

* Petrus Burmannus de Vectigal Pop. Rom., c. ii.

Romans, and even where we find bonding bricks used in Roman work, they do not run through the full thickness of the walls, which latter were plastered over and then painted in fresco, both inside and out, the colours used being various, but red with gaudy stripes of yellow predominating. It is quite certain that the houses of Uriconium were only built to the height of one story above the ground level. No staircases have been discovered. The fact of pieces of window glass, one-eighth of an inch in thickness, having been found at this place, has given rise to the idea that the buildings were lighted, not precisely in the Roman fashion, by a space in the roofs open to the air, above the central court, called the compluvium, but by windows or skylights, and it is certainly probable that in this northern climate, the practical sense of the Romans would suggest to them the convenience resulting from such a mode of covering over the area used for the admission of light. The roofs were covered with micaceous slabs, of hexagonal shape, which must have presented a glittering appearance in the sun : in fact these, and the red and yellow striped walls, would impart to the Romano-British city quite a polychromatic effect. The floors of the hypocausts were tessellated, and laid upon a laminated bed of tiles and mortar, forming a close and compact horizontal mass, which was supported by rows of stone or brick piers, built up singly, and about three feet in height. From Mr. T. Wright's interesting work, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, we extract the following description of the Romano-British pavements, and we would here acknowledge our indebtedness to him for much valuable information respecting this period.

“ The Roman pavements were formed of a number of small
 “ tesserae or cubes, set into a fine cement, arranged in patterns
 “ in the manner of Berlin wool work ; the cubes being of
 “ different sizes gave the artist more freedom and scope in his
 “ designs. The cubes were of different substances, and

“colours, and shades, of stone, terra-cotta, and glass. At
 “Cirencester, a pavement was found, in which the colours are
 “very striking, and of local substances. White was produced
 “by cubes of chalk, used sparingly, being soft, and only
 “where high relief was required. Freestone of Cirencester
 “gave a cream-colour, and having been submitted to heat
 “gave gray. Yellow was furnished by the oolite of the
 “gravel drift of the district. The old red sandstone from
 “Hereford produced chocolate; and slate colour was obtained
 “by the use of the limestone bands of the lower lias of the
 “vale of Gloucester. Light red, dark red, and black, were
 “produced by terra cotta, and transparent ruby by glass, the
 “whole surface was polished on being properly set. The
 “floors, which were not laid over hypocausts, were laid upon
 “a carefully prepared substratum of rubble and concrete,
 “and a fine bed of burnt clay and lime. The light stone
 “used in the Wroxeter floors is the Palombino of the
 “Italian mediæval mosaics. Various mottoes were introduced
 “in the floors of vestibules and entrances, such as ‘*cave*
 “‘*canem,*’ ‘*salve,*’ &c. At Saltzburg, a Roman tessellated
 “pavement bears the owner’s name, and the words, *nihil*
 “*intret mali,* ‘May nothing evil enter here.’ Mr. Maw,
 “of Brosely, an excellent authority on such matters, expresses
 “an opinion that the Wroxeter pavements are not by any
 “means highly artistic.”

No wall paintings of an historical character, as at Pompeii, have been found here, nor would the common-place nature of the objects exhumed lead us to expect such at Uriconium. My friend, Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith, reminds me that a curious wall mosaic was here found, bearing an inscription now unfortunately destroyed.

The name and number of the legions have been found stamped on the Roman roof tiles at Caerleon, Mancunium, and other stations, but not at Uriconium. Nor is the latter

place mentioned in the Itineraries, as being a station for military; we are, therefore, surprised at the number of sepulchral monuments discovered in the Roman cemetery near Uriconium, inscribed to the memory of soldiers or military persons of different legions. There is one which commemorates a soldier of the fourteenth legion, which was finally withdrawn from Britain in 69 A.D. It would appear that the Roman legions stationed in Britain were not composed entirely of natives of Italy, but comprised Dalmatians, Crispians, Cilicians, Tortentians from Asiatic Sarmatia, and natives of almost every country of Europe; if such be the fact, can we wonder at the mixture of styles which we find in the early architecture of Britain? In the banded baluster-like columns of the so-called Saxon period, which may, however, have been late Roman, as well as in the general ornamentation of the same period, do we not detect the evidences of an Eastern origin?

It is supposed by antiquaries that the ordinary Romano-British buildings were frequently of timber, upon a stone basement rising from two to three feet above the ground, a method of building still practised in the Sussex villages, near Penvensey, the Anderida of the Romans. The floors of the villas and better houses were supported, as we have seen, upon rows of stone pillars, or tile-piers, or sleeper-walls, these formed the hypocausts, (literally *fire beneath*, the Roman method of heating a house,) sometimes only half an apartment was so heated, the other half of the floor resting on solid ground, and when only a certain amount of heat was needed this mode of construction would doubtless prove more economical. In laying the floors, a layer of large flat tiles, or flags, in one or two thicknesses, was placed upon the tops of the columns, or walls of the hypocaust, six inches of concrete was then laid upon these, and in this concrete the pavement of the floors was set. Ordinary pavements were

made of *tesserae* of brick, two inches square; sometimes a floor composed merely of flags was laid over the mass of concrete. The end of the largest hypocaust at Uriconium was semi-circular, and coloured red and yellow imperishably upon the plaster before it dried. The walls here and there shew signs of having been tessellated in rude guilloches and other patterns. Some of the apartments in the Roman houses were simply heated from beneath through the floors, but *caleducts*, or hot air flues, ran up the walls of others; the tiles used for these flues may be still seen in large quantities. They present a smoothly vitrified face in front, but are roughed at the back to ensure their perfect adhesion to the plaster of the walls. One apartment at Uriconium shews signs of a great number of such flues, and is on that account supposed to have been the *Sudatorium*, or sweating-room. Under one of the floors there must have been as many as one hundred and twenty supporting brick pillars.

The city of Rome, under Romulus, was of brick; under Camillus, of squared stone; under Cæsar, of marble.* Most of the Romano-British cities appear to have passed through the first two stages of progress, but never to have reached the third; and the miliarium found at Uriconium certainly can lay no claim to being a *miliarium aureum*, such as the one erected by Augustus Cæsar, in the Roman Forum, where all the highways of Italy met.† The public buildings were equally inferior to those of the Imperial metropolis, the walls of the former, as we have seen, being embellished with painted plaster, those of the latter with costly marbles, and their roofs covered with burnished brass.‡ Nerva's arch, in Rome, was vulgarly called Noah's ark,§ and the buildings at Uriconium, being mainly devoted, as we have suggested, to agricultural

* *Fabrieii Roma*, cap. 14. + *Marlian*, l. 3, c. 18. † *Marlian*, l. 3, c. 13.

§ *Idem*, l. 3, c. 14.

purposes, might not inappropriately be called by the same name, in comparison with those of Rome.

As before stated, Antiquaries are of opinion that the public Baths, the Basilicæ, and the Forum were grouped together (as at Pompeii and other Roman cities) upon the part of the city of Uriconium which has been excavated, and that a Latrina can also be here traced. In proceeding with some excavations a few months since, an apartment thirty-four feet long by thirty-two feet wide was opened up. Several coins of the period of Hadrian, Trajan, and Constantine were found, also the end of the hilt of a sword in bronze representing a lion's head, a fibula, and fragments of a so-called Samian wine bowl, ornamented with curious figures in relief, many hair pins and cock's legs have likewise been collected, which with the other matters have been deposited in the Shrewsbury museum.

The Romans supplied their colonial towns with excellent water, laid on in pipes, and brought to fountains or conduits, from which the people carried it to their houses. At Ilkley, in Yorkshire, a fine arched Roman water tunnel was opened some years ago ; it was of squared masonry and appeared to be very well built. As far as our memory will serve, it was about three feet six inches in diameter, and ran along the main street, and we believe it was then used as a source of water supply by the inhabitants. In these matters of police the Romans appear to have been very far advanced, a fact which the remains of their gigantic sewers and aqueducts have served to establish.

The accumulation of blackened soil over the entire area of Uriconium, in places to the depth of several feet, proves that the city must have been destroyed by burning. The depth of this accumulation seems at first sight strange ; but if we examine the views of some of our Abbeys and other middle-age remains, taken only a hundred years ago, (Wenlock

Abbey, for example, as depicted in Grose's *Antiquities*,) or if we walk round some of our own old village churches, that have remained untouched for even one century, we shall find how rapidly the soil accumulates around such places, and year by year raises the levels, until the capital takes the place of the base, and the second story becomes in reality the first above ground. So at Wroxeter the earth has covered over the deserted city, and restored to the art of the husbandman what was first severed from him by the Roman ploughshare.

As a further illustration of the rapid accumulation of soil around old buildings, we may quote from Fabricius, who states that the temple of Marcus Agrippa, sometimes called the Pantheon Rotunda, was standing in his day with little alteration besides the loss of the old ornaments, "the most remarkable difference being, that whereas heretofore they ascended by twelve steps, they now go down as many to the entrance."*

Having now completed our sketch of the civic architecture of Uriconium, we will proceed to consider that which relates to the building of villas and country houses, and purpose concluding our paper with a description of the most interesting archæological objects which have been discovered in the more recent investigations.

Having taken Uriconium as an example of the Romano-British city, we will take the villa at Linley Hall, not very far distant from Uriconium, as our first example of this class of building. The remains of a Roman wall were here found at a distance of about 150 yards from the Hall. It must have served as a rampart for the defence of the occupants of this villa against the incursions of the mountaineers. The site is a most attractive one, affording a view of a vast sweep of country; flue tiles and the remains of hypocausts have been here found, also a quantity of blackened earth. The

* Fabric., c. 9.

walls were two feet six inches in thickness, of sound masonry, with ample doorways through them ; a large area of broken walls has been laid bare, but not having been covered by soil to more than a few inches in depth, the remains have become injured by the action of the weather, and therefore more difficult to trace than those of other villas protected by a greater depth of earth ; among the *débris*, few objects of archaeological interest have been here discovered, with the exception of the supports of the hypocausts, some in pottery and some in stone. We are not surprised at the destruction of the towns and country villas, principally by burning, which followed the departure of the Romans ; as soon as the Norsemen (with their hatred to the Empire, and desiring to see every vestige which reminded them of the Roman rule swept from the face of the earth) became ascendant in this part of Europe, we can well understand the decline of Roman taste in the arts which followed, and especially in that of Architecture, associated as it was in their minds with the deities of the Pantheon and the Lares and Penates of the Roman households, whose influence had been so long invoked against their arms, and the preservation of which could alone serve to keep alive the memories of the Legionaries.

We often find in excavating the sites of Roman villas in this country, that they have been erected upon the ruins of earlier ones ; this fact will not surprise us, when we recollect that the Roman occupation lasted fully four hundred years after the period when such structures were first erected in our island, or about as long as from the time of the invention of printing till now, and during which epoch our own Architecture has experienced multifarious changes and re-edifications. The remains of about a hundred Roman villas have been found in Britain, the principal ones being in the southwest ; remains have been found also in North and South Wales, in Shropshire and in Herefordshire. The walls

of these villas were sometimes built with six-inch cavities, to keep out the damp, as at Woodchester. The exterior walls were often plastered on the outside, and painted a dull red colour; the walls were sometimes encrusted with foreign marbles on the inside. On entering a Roman dwelling the visitor invoked the household gods. In the vestibule at Woodchester, fragments of a beautiful group of Cupid and Psyche were found, similar to the well-known group in the Museum Florentinum.

The Romans were great potters: remains of pottery made at the Upchurch marshes, on the Medway, are very numerous. The colour is a dull blue black, resulting, it is supposed, from its being baked in the smoke of vegetable substances. Amongst the Romano-British remains have been found portions of the celebrated Samian ware, of bright red colour, like sealing-wax, although some antiquaries have supposed that this ware was excellently imitated by the potters in Britain, and that a great portion of the so-called Samian ware found upon Romano-British sites is of spurious manufacture. There are some fine specimens of the pure Samian in the Mayer Museum, Liverpool. Some of the bowls have been found rivetted by lead or bronze rivets. Antiquaries are of opinion that most of the true Samian ware found in Britain was imported from the Continent, principally from Arezzo, in Italy, the ancient Aretium. The ware was adorned with subjects of a mythological kind, also with hunting scenes, combats, etc. The red colour is supposed to have been imparted to it by lead and iron oxides, mixed up with the clay, when in a plastic state. The Durobrivian potteries have supplied specimens of the imitation Samian ware.

We may therefore suppose that the interior of a Romano-British villa would present a pleasing and not unartistic aspect to the visitor, with its household gods, its richly-tiled vestibule, its well-lighted hall, decorated with costly marbles and

enriched with gorgeous wall paintings ; and we may suppose that precious stones and gilding played a conspicuous part in such adornments. The goldsmiths of Britain carried on a prosperous trade. At old Malton, in Yorkshire, a large stone was found, inscribed to the genius Loci, by one of these Romano-British goldsmiths. Britain was then the Australia of Rome—gold mines were largely worked in Britain by the Romans. The art of gold-mining has been abandoned since their departure until our own times, when it has been revived. In 1866, 2927 tons of auriferous quartz were obtained in North Wales alone, yielding 743 ounces of pure gold.

The great Roman road, known to us under the Saxon name of Watling Street, passed by the gates of Uriconium, and along the sides of it were no doubt erected numbers of such villas as we have described. On the Roman roads were also built the *Tabernæ diversoriæ*, or places of entertainment for man and beast, kept by the *diversores*. At stated intervals were *mansiones*, the keepers of which, named *mancipes*, stopped the passengers to examine their diplomata, or passports. Along the sides of these roads, burials frequently took place ; we read on an inscription that a Roman named Lollius was buried by the road side, that they who pass by might say, "Farewell, Lollius." The following characteristic inscription was found upon a Roman tombstone—

" Adieu, Septimia,
 " May the earth be light upon you !
 " Whoever on this tomb
 " Places a lamp burning,
 " May his ashes
 " A golden soil cover !"

Supposing this tombstone of Septimia to have been placed at the side of one of the Roman roads, such a benediction upon a *lamplighter* must have had quite a practical bearing.

The Romans levied a tax upon the bodies of the dead, before they were allowed to be buried, which seems to have

pressed very heavily upon the Britons under the Roman rule.

The Roman burials were strictly extra-mural. They sometimes buried the dead entire; sometimes they burned the body, and buried the ashes in a cinerary urn. In country districts, the burial place generally adjoined the villa or hamlet. The ashes were sometimes placed in vessels used for domestic purposes, and sometimes in glass jars. Amongst the ashes are found the obolus, or coin, an offering to Charon; hence, perhaps, the custom of closing the eyes of the dead with a coin. The remains of wine and provisions have also been found in the tombs, and generally one of the small unguent bottles, usually called lachrymatories, or tear bottles, is found with the ashes; personal ornaments, jewellery, food vessels, Samian bowls, amphoræ, sandals with bronze nails, imperishable terra cotta lamps, and almost every other article in ordinary use, *excepting weapons of warfare*, have been found in the Romano-British cemeteries. The sepulchral deposits were generally covered with tiles; thus the word tegula, a tile, came to signify a tomb, and to this practice we doubtless owe the beautiful fable of the origin of the Corinthian capital. The small bell (*tintinnabulum*), used to summon slaves and attendants, when their services were wanted, is an object frequently found among the remains of this period. A very interesting small object in bronze, viz., a Roman Boar, was recently found in the neighbourhood of Garth, in Montgomeryshire, which, owing to the kindness of my friend, Mr. Morris Charles Jones, the indefatigable Secretary of the Powys-Land Club, I had an opportunity of inspecting; upon the underside of the boar, running longitudinally, was a groove, which must have fitted upon the edge of some disc-shaped object, such as the ridge of a helmet; several theories were suggested by antiquarian friends to explain the precise use of this little archæological "find;"

my friend, Mr. H. E. Smith, suggested that it might have been an emblem of the Romano-British boar hunt.

The place where the bronze boar above-named was found, being close to Mediolanum, on the great Roman road between Uriconium and Deva, it is our opinion that it belonged to one of the soldiers of the Twentieth legion, (of which the boar was the emblem,) who may have had it struck from his helmet in a brush with the barbarians, against whom he had sallied with his legion from the head-quarters at Deva. Among the archæological remains found at Deva, was an altar dedicated to the goddess of Brigantium, in Switzerland, hence we may suppose that some of the natives of Switzerland had formed a settlement at Chester.

The peculiar manner of building which has been practised in that city from time immemorial, consisting of galleries, called "the Rows," above the ground floor of the houses in the streets, with wooden pillars and brackets, *bears a striking resemblance to that adopted in Switzerland*. It is not improbable that this manner of building originated with the settlers from Brigantium, who raised at Chester this altar to their goddess, a more likely origin certainly than that of the Roman portico, to which it has been attributed by some writers.

In the excavations upon the sites of Romano-British cities numerous objects have been found from time to time, Uriconium having recently furnished the greatest number, among which were the following: the head of an axe, an iron chain, a trident (no doubt an insignia of office placed upon a staff), fibulæ, hair pins, needles, tweezers, bones of birds and animals which had been used for food, the shells of snails, oysters and other shell fish, of which the Romans seem to have been very fond. On the site of this and other Romano-British cities, have been found the bones of the stag, the large goat, the *bos longifrons*, teeth and tusks of wild hogs,

of dogs and of wolves ; on these sites Roman coins are very numerous, as if the inhabitants had scattered their money about in a most lavish manner. At Uriconium part of a money box and, near it, some coins were found. The coins were freshly struck from the mint of the family of Constantine, which gives a date and fixes the burning of this place at about the close of the Romano-British period, or the end of the fifth century, and just previous to the establishment of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms in Britain.

ARCHÆOLOGY IN THE MERSEY DISTRICT,
1867.

By Henry Ecroyd Smith.

(READ APRIL 16TH, 1868.)

THE chief antiquarian occurrence of the past year in our district is undoubtedly the discovery at Wavertree of the burial place of some British tribe in primeval times. The utter destruction by the workmen of most of the cinerary urns there deposited, and the complete failure after a long, laborious and careful search, to discover additional examples of these interesting mementoes of a race of our predecessors whose history is unknown, and whose remains are particularly scarce in this locality, are facts of the most mortifying character. Nevertheless, all those who have been engaged in the examination of similar interments, have likewise experienced more or less of such disappointment, and an impression prevails among antiquaries that we may be thankful for what little remains to us of the *eight* urns, mostly very fine ones, all met with during necessary excavations for walls, cellaring and sewerage of the double house in Victoria Park, now appropriately named by its owner *Urn Mount*. As this valuable addition to the earliest history of the human occupation of our neighbourhood forms the subject of a separate paper, it may suffice to add here that the remains unquestionably date from as early a period as any ever disclosed in this part of the country, not excepting the ancient and mysteriously inscribed *Calder Stones*, from which they are but one mile and a half distant, and to which they may yet prove to be closely related.

Condate (Wilderspool), the only verified *Roman* station in the Mersey district has not produced any noticeable remains of late, but the site, fortunately under vigilant guardianship, is yet confidently expected to disclose interesting traces of the conquerors' residence. As a set-off to this hope deferred, the occurrence of coins of this period found northward of Liverpool, and beyond the most westward of the known Roman roads traversing South Lancashire, is now for the first time recorded, and will no doubt prove an incitement to further research in this somewhat isolated tract.

Among the miscellaneous objects which have come under the writer's notice (mostly introduced into the neighbourhood with ballast), an elegant mediæval Signet Ring, made for one of the Cheshire squires of the fifteenth century, and an example of a class of ornaments but rarely met with, will be remarked with interest.

The relics of various periods found during the year upon the sea-beach of Cheshire are unusually numerous, inclusive of several which, being unique, deserve to be carefully engraved. The great mass are in the hands of new collectors, chiefly in those of Messrs. Charles Potter and J. R. Allen, who have kindly placed their acquisitions at the writer's disposal for description, but the labour of concocting the annual report is necessarily greatly increased, and as there is reason to fear that some articles of interest are now sold *out* of the neighbourhood, the present is probably the last complete account which the writer will attempt to furnish of a produce which, for *curious variety* and *number*, is believed to be wholly unmatched in archæological records..

Roman Remains at Wilderspool.

In reference to the operations at this station, Dr. Kendrick

of Warrington reports, "My expectations of a richer harvest of relics of the Roman period at Wilderspool (*Condate*), have been considerably disappointed, for the only variation in the objects found by increased excavation, is that the fragments of pottery are of much larger size and more abundant than heretofore. Of other remains we find none; but we are evidently approaching the immediate site of the station, and may at any moment find our patient search rewarded by very interesting discovery."

Roman Coin in Parliament Fields.

In the writer's last annual report, the occurrence here of an early stone "Celt" was recorded. Many imagined it to have been introduced in soil from a distance, but the finder is strongly of a contrary opinion. In the course of last summer a Roman coin was discovered under circumstances calculated to prove the existence of some early relics below the ordinary level of the old fields, and which may be connected with the settlement of what was subsequently designated *Esmedune*, in fact the presumed Roman occupation of the locality and the road carried over the Mersey marshes—no navigable channel being then existent—into Wirral. About the month of August, Mr. Charles A. Walters, practising here with bow and arrow, was extracting the latter from the ground which it had penetrated somewhat deeply, when a coin was brought up from below the turf. It is in a poor state of preservation, but bears an uncommon type, viz., the group of Romulus and Remus suckled by a wolf, which will be further alluded to. The only legible portion of the inscription is "ROMANI." The coin is a *sestertius*, or first brass of the Emperor *Antoninus Pius*, A.D. 138—161.

Roman Coins at Formby.

During the Spring of 1866 a workman in the employ of Mr. Bocquet of Formby village, was engaged in the renovation of a "cop" or hedge bank, a little in the rear of that gentleman's house, when a coin appeared in the sandy soil, which was subsequently presented to the writer by Master Harry Bocquet. This young gentleman, gratified upon finding the occurrence was of some importance, kindly made enquiry among his neighbours, when a second and more valuable piece was ascertained to have been found by the son of a fisherman named Mawdesley. The former is a *third brass* coin of the Emperor Constantine the Great, A.D. 317-340, or one of his sons. *Obverse*—VRBS ROMA Galeated head of Rome. *Reverse*—The celebrated historic infants Romulus and Remus suckled by a she-wolf, above two Stars; the few letters in the exergue are illegible. This type of the Constantine family, the first recorded in our district, is by no means of so frequent occurrence in this country as many others, but it has occasionally been found upon the Continent in large quantities, as though in process of distribution over the more distant provinces of the empire, when deposited for security. The group occupying the field was notoriously a favourite subject with the Roman people, and the design might very naturally be supposed to have been of frequent recurrence in their works of art. Such, however, is not found to be the case, and the fact is indeed passing strange.

The ancient and fine bronze group in the Vatican, from which many copies have doubtlessly been taken, is almost the only known instance of its production in metal, save the thin copper plaque in the Roach Smith Collection of the British Museum, which was found in London. Whether we turn to sculpture or fresco, mosaics or coins, ivories or intaglios, the rarity of this popular group will not fail to strike the enquirer with amazement. In the case of coins—if

we except the small pieces of the City of Rome, of which this Formby piece is an example, and which have been considered by many more as *medallets* than coins—a class of objects upon which the design would *prima facie* be produced interminably and in every possible variety of treatment, it really occurs unaccountably seldom, considering the hundreds of thousands of differing types of the Roman Emperors. The series of Roman Colonial coins contain a larger proportion, the cities in which they were struck affecting the device to illustrate their proud connection with the capital, as Carthage, Damascus, Neapolis, Jerusalem and others.

The second Formby coin is a silver *Denarius* of the late Consular period, and probably struck but little anterior to the time of Cæsar. (Fig. 1.) It is in excellent condition, the configuration being sharply defined, and representing the great military hero of the *Sergia* family, who from the time of the first Punic war retained his place upon the reverse of the only numismatic type issued by it. Mr. Akerman* thus describes the piece:—

“SERGIA, a patrician family. One type only. *Obverse*—“Winged head of Minerva, behind “ROMA,” and “X”; before “EX ” “S.C.” *Reverse*—“M. SERGI. SILVS ”; “Q ” in “the field. A horseman galloping to the left, holding in his “left hand a human head and a sword. The horseman on “this coin is a representation of that extraordinary man “mentioned by Pliny (lib. VII, cap. xxviii), who, after being “maimed in every limb and losing his right hand, fought in “many engagements with his left. Silus was twice captured “by Hannibal, and endured innumerable hardships in the “service of his country.”

Thus we possess two coins of very varying Roman origin, one early the other late, found in a locality where, so far as

* Descriptive Catalogue of New and Inedited Roman Coins, 1834, p. 83. (Pl. III, No. 1.)

is known, none of any class had been previously discovered, but others may be found constituting intermediate links. Upon communicating these little “finds” to Mr. Charles Hardwick, the author of the *History of Preston*, and who has paid considerable attention to the roads and historic remains in that neighbourhood, this gentleman replies—“The “find of Roman coins at Formby is very interesting. The “nearest Roman road is, as you suggest, the one which passes “by Warrington, Wigan, and Preston to Lancaster, and the “nearest point to Formby will be about Wigan.” A considerable number of Roman coins have been found along this route together with other remains, but, so far as is known, none have transpired at any distance to the westward. The centre of the straggling village of Formby will be about twenty miles from the nearest point of the military road mentioned, viz., the southern approach to Wigan. The further valuable observations of Mr. Hardwick will prove novel to many: they so remarkably coincide with some strong convictions of the writer, that he has unusual pleasure in being privileged to quote them. “A very large hoard “of coins was found some years ago near Rossall Point. “It has been suggested that probably a *Pharos* or other “landmark had been erected there to guide mariners to “the *Portus Setantiorum*, which I think was undoubtedly “situated on the Wyre. Some such landmark would be “necessary at Formby to point out the estuary of the “Ribble, and likewise that of the Dee on the south. “The Mersey mouth I contend is, as a navigable channel, “relatively modern. The Romans undoubtedly had a port “at or near Hoylake, to say nothing of Deva, which was, as “you know, one of the most important stations accessible by “water in Britain. A vicinal way might lead from the station at Wigan to some such landmark at Formby; this “would not necessarily be a well-made, paved road, and

“hence the absence of traces of it in modern times. It
 “would be desirable that the sites suggested by Dr. Johnson
 “should be carefully examined, and, if found necessary, exca-
 “vated. The country between the Roman road referred to
 “and the sea, the Mersey and the Ribble would undoubtedly
 “be, in Roman times, full of lakes, mosses and swamps, but
 “there would still remain many favourable spots for settle-
 “ment, either for the conquerors or the native inhabitants,
 “of which but very slight remains have yet been brought
 “to light.”

The Dr. Johnson above alluded to is the late Mr. Henry Johnson, M.D., of Walton, whose examination of the ground northward of this place convinced him that traces of Roman occupation existed here—not improbably of a vicinal way to Formby Point.* He had proposed to the writer and others an excavation at one or more spots, which, deferred from time to time through this gentleman’s ill health, ultimately lapsed by his premature decease about three years ago. He had closely studied the derivation of our local nomenclature on both sides of the estuary, and the results proved eminently confirmatory of the above conclusion, as may be seen by reference to a rather discursive but valuable paper continued through many numbers of the *Liverpool Compass*, 2nd series, 1864.†

The Mersey, certainly not belonging to the category of estuaries in Roman times—being then, as its name implies, a mere marine marsh or delta of the small river and pool (or

* The occurrence of several places on this route terminating in *gate* of itself suggests an ancient *road*, which it only meant in former times, not an obstacle to the road, as now.

† Since these remarks were penned, the writer has visited one of the sites indicated, and can fully confirm Dr. Johnson’s supposition. In a field on Stawperley Farm in Fazakerley is a quadrangular platform about a hundred feet square, surrounded by a ditch, which cultivation has nearly levelled with the surrounding ground. The character of the position and building yet remains to be determined, and the place ought to be carefully examined ere all traces are obliterated from the surface.

rather, perhaps, chain of small pools) on the right bank—could not require the provision of either lighthouse or landmark, but at Formby and Meols Points, landmarks would be as essential to the safe navigation of our dangerous shores, as lighthouses at the mouths of the Wyre, Ribble and Dee, to the approaches to the ports upon these estuaries.

The occurrence of Roman coins now recorded may prove the first link in a valuable chain of evidence, and were our local antiquaries men having *time* as well as means, this western district, hitherto generally supposed to be destitute of traces of the widely-spread civilization of the Roman dominion, might be made to tell a very different story.

Mediæval Signet Ring in Cheshire.

In the early part of the year, an interesting finger ring, with seal, belonging to one of the Cheshire squires of the latter part of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century, was found in this county, and is now in the Mayer Collection, Free Public Museum. (See fig. 10.) The exact locality is unknown, but from coincidences about to be noted there seems ground for believing it the personal signet of Thomas Croxton of Ravenscroft, near Middlewich, the head of a family understood to be long extinct in the county. It is of large size and composed of latten, the ornamented portions being inlaid with gold. The seal-face bears a beaded oval, charged with a lion rampant having a small crescent on the shoulder, the whole being surmounted by the initials T. C. Upon either side is an elegant foliated ornament tapering off into the narrower portion of the ring. By the initials alone no hope could be entertained of elucidating its paternity, as the Cheshire families owning the second (C) are very numerous. Dr. Ormerod's history of the county is fortunately replete with pedigrees of its chief houses and their

escutcheons, and recourse to this valuable work disclosed the fact that of all the former, only one—that of Croxton—bore a *lion rampant* for its arms, which are thus described*—“CROXTON. Arms, lion rampant, *argent*, debriused by a bend componè, *or* and *gules*.”

The Cheshire portion of this once considerable family was composed of three branches, namely, Croxton of Croxton, Croxton of Ravenscroft, and Croxton of Norbury, but as the pedigrees of the first and third are devoid of any christian name commencing with a T, the pursuit is concentrated in the third division, located at Ravenscroft Hall, situate about a mile N.W. of Middlewich and belonging to its parish. This branch sprang from Richard, fourth son of Richard de Croxton, temp. Edward II. Later, a Thomas de Croxton, temp. Edward III and Henry IV, married Margery, a co-heiress of Thomas Ravenscroft of Ravenscroft, and had a son of the same name to whom, as living about the time of Henry VII, the date of the execution of the signet ring, it is proposed to assign this object.

The Thomas Ravenscroft just mentioned, was a nephew of Hugh Ravenscroft of Bretton and Pickhill, Flints., who died without issue, leaving his house and lands at Ravenscroft to his sister Margery. He was High Sheriff of County Flint in 1598, and again in 1607. The Flintshire branch of this old family has only three known living representatives, one of whom is now at the antipodes.

The house intermarried with the first families in the county, viz., the Mainwarings, Warburtons, Winningtons, and Egertons.

The derivation of the name Ravenscroft is evidently Scandinavian, it is indicative, in common with many others, of Danish occupation of the district; *Ravens* Meols occurs in our own neighbourhood, and Woden's *Croft*, where the

* Vol. iii, p. 3.

remains of an altar to this northern deity is still shown, is situate in a retired angle of Teesdale, near Cotherstone. Lysons* states, "The township of Ravenscroft, which *contains* " *only one house*, lies a little more than a mile N. from " Middlewich ; the manor was given in exchange for Byley by " the Abbot of Dieulacres to Warren de Byley, who, removing " his residence to this township, assumed the name of Ravens- " croft, and was ancestor of the Ravenscrofts of Cheshire, " Flintshire, and Denbighshire. The elder branch which was " settled at Ravenscroft became extinct in the male line in " the fourteenth century, when the manor passed by a female " heir to the *Croxtons* who continued there for several descents. " In the year 1704, it was sold by the sisters and co-heirs of " Thomas Croxton, Esq., the last male heir, to Peter Yate." Ormerod says it was Cicely, the sole survivor of two brothers and two sisters, who thus disposed of the family mansion and estates. That the house was one of some repute is evidenced by the fact of the grandfather of this lady being a colonel under Parliament in the time of the Civil War, and also governor of Chester.

The current enquiry has elicited the fact of the discovery of another signet ring (of gold) of a later member of this family, thus described in the *Manchester Guardian*.

An old English Signet Ring.—"Some labourers, whilst " removing a hedge at Ravenscroft, near Nantwich, in the " spring of 1842, found an antique signet ring of fine gold, " on the face of which was engraved an heraldic shield, " bearing arms which are or were borne by the two families " of Ravenscroft and Vaudray. The ring, which weighs " 14 dwts. 10 grs., is now in the possession of Mr. James " Bardoe, of Manchester, (it was sold at the sale of his " collection after his decease in 1867,) and an impression of " it having been forwarded to Dr. Ormerod, the able historian

* Hist. Cheshire, p. 693.

“ of Cheshire, he writes as follows respecting it. ‘I thank
 “ ‘ you for the impression of the ring. The arms—argent a
 “ ‘ chevron sable between three raven’s heads, erased on the
 “ ‘ second—are indisputably those of Ravenscroft of Ravens-
 “ ‘ croft, whose heiress, Margery, brought that estate to
 “ ‘ Roger de Croxton, in the time of Edward III. If the seal
 “ ‘ had been of the period of a Ravenscroft of Ravenscroft, I
 “ ‘ conjecture that it would have been circumscribed *S.*
 “ ‘ *Warini de Ravencroft*, or as the case might be. From its
 “ ‘ aspect, I do not think it is earlier than the beginning of
 “ ‘ Elizabeth’s reign, or later than the Revolution. In this
 “ ‘ opinion, I think it probable that it was the seal of some
 “ ‘ Croxton of Ravenscroft who fancied using the arms of his
 “ ‘ female ancestors ; or it might be the seal of some collateral
 “ ‘ descendant of the old line, Ravenscroft of Bretton for
 “ ‘ instance, who might lose it when visiting his kinsman.
 “ ‘ The first idea seems to me the most probable. Within
 “ ‘ the period that I have mentioned, Ravenscroft produced
 “ ‘ one well-known proprietor, Thomas Croxton, colonel of
 “ ‘ one of the Cheshire regiments raised to oppose Duke
 “ ‘ Hamilton in 1648, one of the members of the court-
 “ ‘ martial which condemned the Earl of Derby in 1651, and
 “ ‘ the officer who closed the gates of Chester Castle against
 “ ‘ Sir George Booth in 1659. It may have been his ring.’”

As the writer of the above notice remarks in a late number of the *Warrington Guardian*, the occurrence of a second signet ring of this family after a lapse of just a quarter of a century is a singular coincidence. There is every probability of their having been found in the same neighbourhood.

Dr. Ormerod here quotes from the pedigree published in his History,* but unfortunately it proves to be incorrect on one point, inasmuch as the *family pedigree* clearly shews, not the Roger Croxton mentioned, but his eldest son *Thomas*, to have married the heiress Margery Ravenscroft. This “family tree”

* Vol. iii, p. 3.

must be held to be authentic, being intituled “The Genealogy
 “of the Ancient families of Ravenscroft of Ravenscroft,
 “Ravenscroft of Bretton, Ravenscroft of Pickhill, and other
 “branches thence proceeding, all faithfully collected out of
 “the books of Owen Salusbury of Rigo, Esquire, Robert
 “Davies of Gwassanne, Esquire, Edward Puleston of
 “Allington and Peter Ellis of Wrexham, Esquires, 1669 ;
 “by John Salusbury de Erbistock.”

Mediæval Tile at Bebington.

At one of our late meetings our worthy President, Mr. Mayer, exhibited a curious relic from the neighbourhood of his own residence, an encaustic Wall-Tile of the 14th century, (see plate,) which is probably unique of its class, through bearing an inscription, covering its whole upper surface of five inches square. The religious motto, for such it must be deemed, is traced in white enamel upon a brown glazed ground, and reads quaintly thus :—

“ yi . liffe (<i>rendered</i>) Mai . not . eur . endure . Yat . yow . dost . yi . self Of . yat . yow . art . sure . But . yat . yow . kepist . Un . to . yi . sect . or . cure . And . eur . hit . availe . ye Hit . is . but . aventure.”	Remember thy life May not ever endure ; That thou doest thyself Of that thou art sure, But that thou keepest Unto thy sect or cure And ever it availe thee It is but adventure.*
--	---

This object, of which an engraving is supplied from a photograph, appears to have been found at the bottom of the garden of Mr. R. H. Foster of Mersey Terrace, Bebington, by his son Master Richard Radclyffe, among earth and rubble, probably *débris* from the old Church near by—the original Chancel of which was replaced, in the reign of Henry VII, in

* Since this paper has been in press, Mr. Ll. Jewitt has kindly shewn the writer a tracing of another example of this interesting tile, found at Great Malvern. It complements our first line thus—“*Thinke mon yi liffe.*”

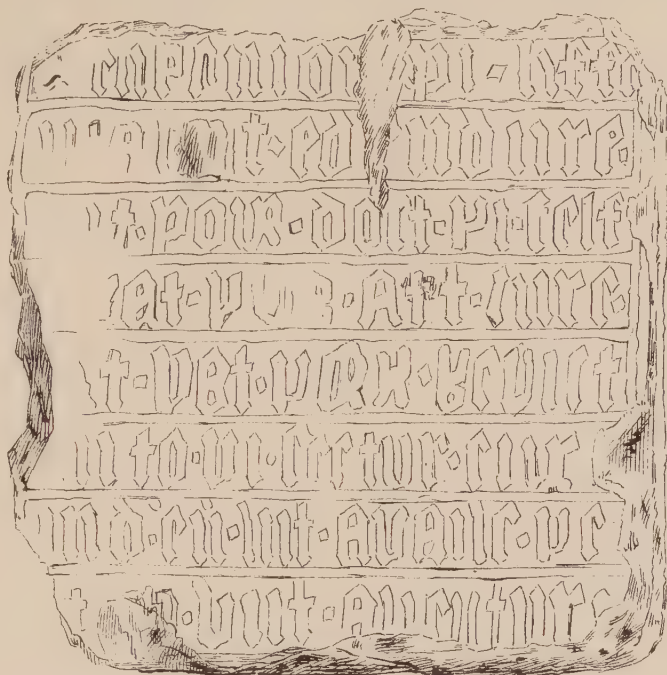


ALL ACTUAL SIZE

J. LAWSON, 88, NORTH JOHN ST. L'POOL.

COINS, SEALS &c.
FOUND IN LANCASHIRE & CHESHIRE. 1867

A TERRA COTTA FLOOR TILE, 15TH CENTY



This tile was found in the Garden of Mr. R. H. Foster, Mersey Terrace, Bebington, by his son Richard Radclyffe, and presented by him to the Mayer Collection in the Town Museum.

It is interesting as probably having belonged to the old Church, not far distant from where it was found as well as from the quaint inscription upon it which is drawn in a white slip or glaze upon brown glaze ground which reads thus:—

(Remember) yi life	/ or /	Remember thy life
May not ēu endure		May not ever endure
Yat' yow dost yi self		That thou dost thyself
Of yat' yow art sure		Of that thou art sure
But yat' yow kepist		But that thou keepest
On to yi future cure		Unto thy future cure
And ēu hit availe ye		And ever it availe thee
Hit is but aventure		It is but adventure / chance /

the best architecture of the period, when a complete re-building of the whole fabric is supposed to have been designed, but never further effected.

Miscellaneous Importations, &c.

Among the rough material brought into the neighbourhood of Liverpool for the construction of railway and other embankments, and the ballast discharged from vessels bringing produce from every habitable clime, objects of curiosity are probably not of unfrequent recurrence, but it is only very recently that attention has been called to any of an antiquarian character, as also to the desirability that gentlemen who, like Mr. Charles Potter of Her Majesty's service, have frequent opportunities of observing ballast during discharge, especially on the spacious quays of the new north docks, should be alive to the possibility of archæological relics which may prove worthy of preservation. The following list, though comprising objects noticed accidentally, will yet prove this desirability.

Roman Coins in Ships' Ballast have been occasionally reported and shewn, and such no doubt occur, though it is not improbable some of these may have been brought by sailors from the south of Europe, &c., and lost from their persons whilst at work. One found upon one of the central dock quays (October 20) is a second brass of the Emperor *Maximinus* II, A.D. 306, and in good condition; *reverse*, "GENIO AUGUSTI," the Emperor standing, holding a Victory in his right hand and a cornucopia in the left; *exergue*, "ALE" (Alexandria.)

Stone Axe.—At a late meeting of our local Geological Society was exhibited the head of a stone axe, apparently of early North American Indian manufacture, obtained by Mr. Potter from the north docks. Formed of hard heavy granite, it yet has a very shallow groove for the attachment

of the leather or other bandage to secure it to a shaft. In size it measures about six inches in length by four in breadth.

Sculpture.—Some two years ago, Mr. George Biddle, Steward (under the Dock Engineer) of the Birkenhead portion of the Dock Estate, presented to me a heavy block of limestone, bearing a well-executed *stork* perched upon a rock with cloud above, upon a frosted ground. This has probably formed part of the pedestal of an altar or statue, a curious example of a mediæval carving after the antique. An angular piece of marble was lately presented to the museum by Mr. John Chater. It had arrived at Carnarvon, no doubt in ballast through trans-shipment. It has been polished, and is inscribed in regular lines of beautifully-executed *Chinese* characters, probably of old date.

PRODUCE OF THE CHESHIRE SHORE.

Owing to favourable conjunctions of north-easterly winds with moderate tides during the spring, the year has been rendered remarkable by an unusually numerous out-turn of historic relics, which are tabulated below, firstly, as to general date, and secondly, as to composition. Through the increasing publicity of his annual dissertations on the produce of this remarkable shore, combined with the greater facilities for visiting and lodging in this immediate neighbourhood, it would have been strange indeed had the writer continued to be almost the sole recipient of the various “finds,” as latterly has been the case. Two chief rival collectors have been fortunate enough to secure between them nearly three-fourths of their number in the past year, including several unique and valuable articles, which are described as fully as if in the writer’s own collection, and carefully engraved in illustration.

To these competitors, Messrs. C. Potter and J. R. Allen, he is indebted for the opportunity of examining their maiden

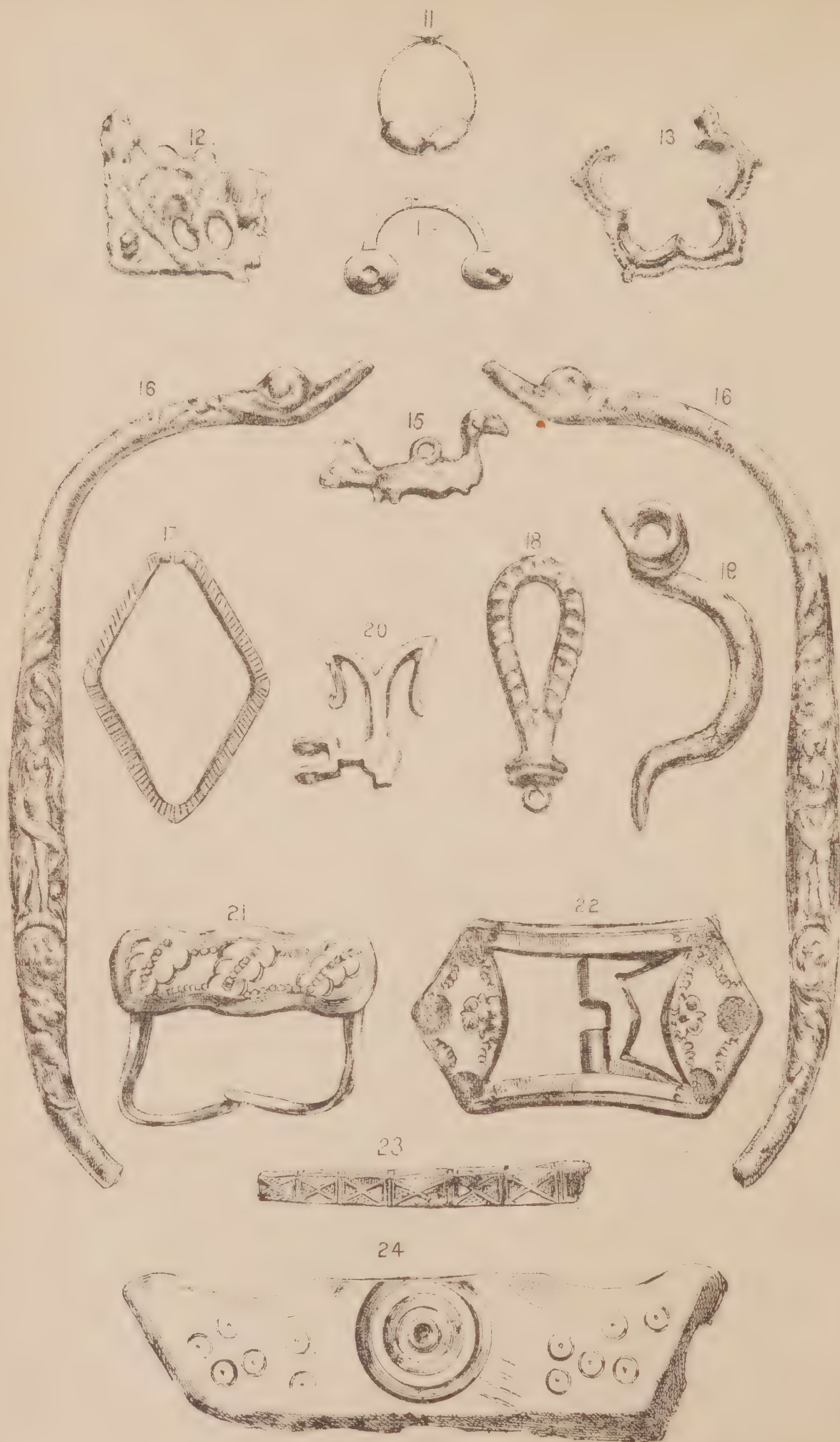
hoards of these local relics, and of now exhibiting them in illustration of this paper.

In addition, some objects have been sold to parties at a distance at present unknown, a fact greatly to be regretted, but no hold can be sustained upon the chief finder and vendor, who, through the increased interest and demand, imagines most to be *worth their weight in gold*, and who is solely anxious to pocket all the money he can intriguingly extract from the simplicity and ignorance of visitors. As yet the number lost to the district is probably very small, but should it greatly increase no professedly complete account of discoveries here can be satisfactorily effected.

In a previous section of this paper the great probability of *landmarks*, situate upon the Points of Ancient Meols and Formby, in early as in modern times, has been broached, as also the presence of lighthouses upon the banks of the estuaries of the Wyre, Ribble, and Dee. Mr. Hardwick, whose confirmative remarks have been quoted, instances numerous Roman coins occurring upon Rossall Point, commanding the first of these, whilst the last, then a noble stream, forming one of the approaches to one of the chief cities of the land, would be admirably overlooked from the elevated rocky termination of the *isthmus* since known as Hilbre *Island* proper. No explanation of the origin of the modern name Hoylake, which has been published, is of a satisfactory character. A *high* lake and a lower lake are literally unknown. A simpler, and consequently more probable derivation, is from the *eye* or island. Thus the original "Lacus de Hildburgh-eye, *qui vocatur* Heye-pol," became *Eye-lake*—*Heye-lake*—Hayle-lake—High-lake (1689)—Hoylake. If this natural hypothesis be correct, the Hoyle-bank must have received its name from the island as well as the lake, as *Heye-lake-bank*. Neither of the present names have probably been in use above a couple of centuries. The

writer was the first to recognise the existence of Romano-British objects on this now isolated spot, and he has little doubt that, through the ravages of the tide, not only the foundations of early erections here, but numerous small objects, inclusive of coins, have fallen with the rock and been entombed in the sands below. The Roman objects here found have, with one exception, been picked up on the beach by Mr. Hughes, the telegraph-keeper, or some member of his family. The light known to have been sustained here in mediæval times, would, according to our supposition, be simply a continuance of the Roman Pharos, or building to accommodate the lights. Through the extraordinary revolution effected in this estuary, *landmarks* have been substituted for these, and a *lighthouse* erected upon the opposite corner of the mainland, the Point of Ayr.

Returning to the elevated promontory to seaward of Ancient Meols, which for awhile it protected on the north-west from wind and sea, its site, through the persistent and rapid growth of the Hoyle Bank eastwardly, would be that of the present mouth of the Hoyle-lake. The writer's former suggestion of a convergence here of Roman roads (*i.e.* secondary or *vicinal* ones), is perfectly in accordance with the existence of a mark or landmarks, as also of a seaport settlement. The absurdity of the President of a local *Archæological* Society, in assuming the non-acquaintanceship of the Romans with the sea-beach of Wirral, is evident to most who have given a moment's serious thought to the subject. The idea of Roman communication in this district, however, is not new. The late W. H. Massey, Esq., of Chester, an experienced antiquary, gave his opinion most decidedly in favour of the old wooden bridge spanning the Birket, near Woodside, as a Roman construction. This was probably a continuation or branch of the road, traces of which were discovered in Aigburth some years ago. Coins have occasion-



ALL ACTUAL SIZE.

J. LAWSON 26 NORTH JOHN ST. L.P.O.

ANTIQUARIAN OBJECTS

FOUND UPON THE SEA-BEACH OF CHESHIRE. 1867.

ally been found upon elevated positions as at Little Brighton, where, in a bank, a second brass of *Faustina Marci* was found nearly forty years ago by Mr. Evans, one of the oldest residents here, and is now in the writer's possession.

The Roman articles found on the strand, lie immediately opposite the wasted promontory or point which undoubtedly existed here, to the exclusion of mediæval ones, which are almost wholly contained in that remarkable, long-cultivated and thoroughly artificial stratum of soil frequently referred to in previous reports. The all-but complete absence of Romano-British domestic pottery among the various ornaments of metal of this period has with abundant reason been accounted for, through the complete abrasion by the sea of the very site of the Roman as of the Saxon and Norman buildings, but remains of cinerary sepulchral urns might be looked for. One fragment only had been previously noticed, but two more have now to be recorded, bearing traces of the neat geometrical patterns characteristic of the black ware manufactured near the present town of Upchurch in Kent, the site of the ancient potteries being now a marsh, whence large quantities of refuse crockery have been procured. It is abundantly met with at every Roman town and all stations of importance, and was in constant use for domestic as well as sepulchral purposes.

CATALOGUE OF OBJECTS.

Primeval.

No. of Objects.

- 1 BONE.—*Arrow-head*, 2 inches long ; the manipulated bone has been carefully selected, being thicker in the middle, where it is partially perforated, than at the sides, but Mr. T. J. Moore, after a careful examination, has been unable to identify it.

1

- 9 STONE.—Small *instruments*, rudely formed of flint, viz., a small “celt” or *chisel*, $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide ; simply-shaped *arrow-heads* and “*scrapers*” (gouges) and the extremity of a finely-pointed *knife*, quite white through the oxidation of excessive age. Two of the arrow-heads were found on Hilbre Island.

Romano-British.

- 1 SILVER.—Denarius of the Emperor SEPTIMUS GETA, A.D. 211—212. (Fig. 4.) *Ob.* “ANTONINUS PIUS “AUG. ;” Laureated head of Geta. *Rev.* “ANT. MAX. “PONT. T. R. P. IIII.” Two captives seated at the foot of a trophy of arms. The features of this younger son of Severus, who so early after their father’s decease fell a victim to his brother’s malevolence and ambition, are unusually youthful, and the piece was probably struck by Severus when raising his young son to the rank of Cæsar, &c., during his fourth year’s enjoyment of the Tribunitian power.
- 1 BRONZE.—*First Brass* of the Emperor NERO, A.D. 50—68. *Rev.* “ROMA. S.C.” The Genius of Rome, seated, holding a spear in the left hand and a Victory in the right.
- 1 *Third Brass* of the Emperor VICTORINUS, A.D. 265—267. *Rev.* illegible.
- 1 *Fibula*, bow-shaped, alternately enamelled with blue and red upon the breast and head. It has been gilt on other portions, and is remarkable as the first of its class occurring here upon which any trace of gilding has been discerned ; $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches long.
- 1 *Ditto*, of similar form, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch long, with pin.
- 1 *Ditto*, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch long. Like the modern “Gipsy-pin,” this
 — most useful little brooch has been made (cast) all in

one piece,—the brooch proper flanged behind, and the pin with an elastic coil atop. (Fig. 19.)

8 *Pins* and other portions of *Brooches*.

8 Fragments of *Dress* and *Hair Pins*; one has a multangular head, the facets of which are covered with the ring and cup ornament.

1 *Ear-ring*, 2 inches long, with drum-shaped head.

2 *Buckles*, having a central bar for the pin.

2 *Clappers* of small hand bells, one in form of a hammer, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch long.

2 *Keys*, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch long; one with a circular hole in a lozenge-shaped handle; in the other both are round.

5 LEAD.—*Spindle-whorls*, three being flat disks; one is globular and ornamented upon each side, much like that in the writer's collection and engraved in *Ancient Meols*, Pl. XV, figs. 1a—c.

1 IRON.—*Key*, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch long.

3 *Knives*, from 4 to 5 inches in length.

2 TERRA-COTTA.—Fragments of *Urns*, probably cinerary or funereal, of the black ware made in "smother kilns," where the smoke was retained in baking, during the Romano-British period, (if not later,) at Upchurch in Kent, near the junction of the rivers Medway and Thames. In constant use for domestic purposes as well as mortuary ones, this ware is of common occurrence upon Roman sites of occupation; but upon the Cheshire shore, where every vestige of a tenement has long been washed away, Pottery of this period is so rare that only two pieces have hitherto been noticed by the writer, one of which, like each of the present examples, has probably formed part of a cinerary urn, considering the distance from the port or settlement on the vanished promontory; they occurred in the

centre of the coast-range to which the Romano-British objects are all but wholly confined upon the mainland.

1 GLASS.—*Bead* of globular form and amethystine colour.

The aperture is small for the size of the bead, which measures three-eighths of an inch in diameter. It was found upon Hilbre Island by Mr. Hughes, the keeper of the telegraph station there.

1 STONE.—*Chisel* (?) of hæmatite, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide at the edge, which has been beautifully manipulated. This fragment of a very interesting instrument, which may be of British fabrication, and possibly of earlier date than that here assigned, is unusually heavy even for this richly-ferruginous ore. After breakage of the shaft it has probably been worn upon the person as an amulet or touchstone.

2 *Amulets* (or *touchstones*) of the same natural substance, one of which presents the curious feature of a *diagonal* or oblique perforation for suspension to the person, the excessive trouble of boring directly across the grain of the hard crystal being thus avoided. It is the first example here of one of these talismanic or lucky stones (and they do not appear to be often met with or recognized elsewhere) being perforated; they were usually retained in the purse or pouch, where through friction with coin, &c., a more or less polished surface is the result, which, independent of a partially artificial polish, is distinguishable from that produced by wear among pebbles of the beach. The writer was long puzzled to learn the source of supply of this ore, but lately discovered it cropping out upon a certain limited portion of the clay bank of the Dee above Dawpool, about

four miles distant, where it occurs abundantly, mostly in small angular fragmentary crystals.

- 1 *Spindle-whorl* of fine freestone.

Saxon and Danish.

- 1 SILVER *Sceatta* (fig. 2), or small coin of this period, one twenty-fourth less in value than the later penny, and belonging to the class formerly ascribed by numismatists to Ethelbert I, King of Kent, or one of his immediate successors, through the assumption that one type bears letters intended for this monarch's name. This is, however, disputed by Mr. Lindsay,* and at least one other writer in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, who with every show of reason refer the piece to Ethelred, King of Mercia, A.D. 675. The bulk of the sceattas hitherto found have been generally accredited to the Heptarchal sovereigns of Kent, but many are now ascribed to East Anglia, to Northumbria and to Mercia, whilst a few are suspected to have been struck by the West Saxon kings. This is the second example of the class referred to found upon our shore, the first being engraved and described in the writer's report for 1863-5;† which is, however, of inferior value to the last find, being more scanty in design, size and weight—giving only seven grains as against seventeen. The value is considerably heightened from the locality of their out-turn, for they are believed to be the first recorded as found in Cheshire, or in fact in this quarter of the ancient kingdom of Mercia. Should these pieces prove correctly appropriated, Mr. Lindsay's

* *View of the Coins of the Heptarchy*, 1842, p. 25.

† *Transactions*, Vol. XVIII, pl. III, p. 215.

reference of the name-inscribed piece to the Mercian Ethelred will receive confirmation. The devices of this class of coins bear a distinctive character, variously modified in details, one of which appearing identical with our last year's "find" was unpublished until 1860, when the type was engraved by Mr. Lindsay in his supplemental *Notice of Remarkable Greek, Roman and Anglo-Saxon Coins*, pl. II, fig. 2, from a coin added to the author's collection since 1849. The obverse bears no inconsiderable resemblance to the vertebra and ribs of a skeleton in an inverted position, but this anomalous figure has evidently been corrupted from some definite object, and numismatists long inclined to the opinion that the original was a *bird*. Mr. Hawkins,* commencing in 1841 his remarks upon sceattæ generally, proceeds to dilate on this class, viz.—“If some were struck before the introduction “of Christianity, by far the greater number were struck “afterwards. No successful effort has been made to “explain the types or the few letters they bear. “Though the exact period of the issue of the various “types of sceattæ cannot be ascertained, it can scarcely “be doubted that they form the connecting link between the genuine Roman and Saxon coins. The “heads upon such as No. 32 (Pl. III), are clearly “Roman from the peculiar form of the diadem. The “wolf suckling the founders of Rome, No. 41, is “clearly copied from a common coin of Constantine. “The strange object upon No. 42 (much resembling “our Cheshire examples), which in No. 43 is *improved “into a bird*, is more probably a very rude imitation “of the *wolf and twins*, and being placed upon the

“coin of King Ethelbert, No. 50, shews a traceable “connection between the Roman and Saxon coinage.” There seems good reason for this conclusion in the peculiar bending form of the head of the figure, whilst the gaunt ribs of the wolf upon some of the *Urbs Roma* coins of the Constantine family, find a counterpart in the feather-like lines filling up the top of the field.* Below this object upon many, but not all, of the coins of this family, a few letters occur, and in the present case we have ATT or AIIT, which Mr. Lindsay suggests may represent *Athelfrid* King of Northumberland, A.D. 590-617, but confesses that the mystery of the odd and irregular letters must be solved by the discovery of other coins of clearer or more complete signification. The reverse bears a V, E, and I, with three odd pellets and a central annulet within a dotted square. The piece is in the best state of preservation, (five and a half lines in diameter,) unclipped, and weighs, as already stated, seventeen grains, which proved to be the full average of about seventy examples noted by Mr. Hawkins, twenty grains being the heaviest known. The extraordinary difference of weight occurring in Sceattas through variation of thickness rather than compass, has proved a grand hindrance in estimating the precise value of these earliest known Anglo-Saxon coins, which appear to have been issued during a course of years, commencing with the sixth and continuing throughout the seventh century.

* For a description of this historical design and its occurrence in Mosaic, Fresco, Coins and Engravings, *vide* Description of the “Romulus and Remus” Pavement found at Aldborough, Yorkshire, being a supplement to the writer’s “*Reliquiæ Isurianæ*.”

1 *Penny* of Cnut (*vulgo* Canute) the Great, A.D. 1016-1035.—This piece, unfortunately in a fragmentary condition, bears *obv.* “+ Cnut REX ANGLO.” Head of Cnut to the right in a quatrefoil, with Crown fleury; *Rev.*—“EGILR . . . N L . . . (probably *Egilric on Lond.* for London). Voided cross in quatrefoil with pellet in centre, each arm opening out into a trefoil and terminating in the beaded border more elegantly than in Mr. Hawkins’s representative type. (Pl. XVI, fig. 212 of his *Silver Coins of England.*)

1 *Halfpenny* or *Third* of a Penny of Edward the Confessor, A.D. 1042-1066. (Fig. 3.) *Obverse*—“+ EDPARDE +;” filleted head of the Confessor to left. *Reverse*—“+ ELFPINE ON SU . . .” (Southwark or Sudbury); a voided cross with a pellet in centre. Weight seven grains, diameter six lines.

Halfpence (round pieces) of the Anglo-Saxon and Danish monarchs of England are of very rare occurrence. Mr. Ruding in his *Annals of the Coinage*, edition of 1840, only alludes to two as known to him, but in a note to this edition, a third is thus referred to—“Mr. North (the Rev. George?), Dec., 1743, shewed the Society of Antiquaries a halfpenny “of Edward the Confessor, weight $9\frac{1}{2}$ grains, found “at Welwyn, Herts., a manor given by Edward to the “Presbyter of that place. Profile to the right, helmeted, “‘EDWARD REX.’ *Reverse*--+ ‘VFINE ON “‘LUNDE.’ Mr. North supposes it the only known “Saxon halfpenny. *Soc. Antiq.*, Vol. IV, p. 184, and “*Numismatic Journal*, Vol. II, p. 253.” In the last-named work Sir Henry Ellis informs us that it is not known to what cabinet this piece was gone. Mr.

Ruding, apparently unaware of this, remarks upon the two halfpence of Edward the Elder, illustrated in his plate. "It was not known that any Anglo-Saxon halfpenny was in existence until I discovered this coin (No. 30) in the Bodleian Collection. A few years afterwards No. 31 came into Mr. Tyssen's hands."

Such were the only known Saxon halfpennies previous to the year 1840, and of the three one was impugned by Mr. Hawkins, who thus wrote,*—"Edward the Confessor's coins are exceedingly various in type, size and weight, some weigh as high as 28 grains, others as low as 15, *yet they must all be considered as pennies*, the very lightest weighing more than half the heaviest; the two extremes are rare, every intermediate weight is common. Halfpence and farthings were formed by cutting the pennies into two and four pieces. At Thwaite in Suffolk, where a considerable number of coins of this period were found, were several specimens of half and quarter pennies thus formed, which had never been in circulation, and some of both are in the British Museum." Again,† in describing pennies, type 16—"These are all of the small size, 9-16ths of an inch diameter; weight 13 to 18 grains, and sometimes not more than 9 or 10." If Mr. Hawkins includes the last-named pieces in his former category, as has generally been assumed, the writer cannot subscribe to the opinion; but this was in all probability penned by Mr. H. previous to his examination of the important Cuerdale *trouvaille* of May, 1840, as only a few pages previously‡ he

* *Silver Coins of England*, p. 72.

+ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

acknowledges receipt of part of this splendid hoard, inclusive of a *halfpenny of St. Edmund*. In his excellent papers in the *Numismatic Chronicle* descriptive of this invaluable series, so far as available, for it was calculated some 300 coins were missing out of a total of 7000, Mr. H. recognizes no less than 127 *halfpennies*, not halved pennies as he previously asserted such to be, but genuine round pieces! Thus his quoted remarks could only apply to those anteriorly known, and the discrepancy apparent between his allusion to pieces of 15 grains as the lowest weight, and which he would consider as pennies, and the subsequent mention of others of 9 or 10 grains, corroborates the suspicion that the Cuerdale find had only mediately come before his view. But sceptics of halfpennies of the Confessor must now pause on learning that our interesting Cheshire example, a good round one, only weighs *seven grains*, and consequently if the 9 or 10-grain pieces are but pennies, which none would dare to say of our 7-grain one, this is proved to be a unique coin.

Nay, may we not go further, and, remembering that in the celebrated code of King Alfred, *thirds* of pennies are unmistakeably alluded to, claim for it this designation, even as Mr. H. himself suggests,* in reference to the two small coins, hitherto called half-pence, of Edward the Elder, weighing as they do 7 to 9 grains? As will be seen by the table appended, the principle will apply equally, taking the average weights of pence and half-pence of the respective kings. So far as the descriptions of Messrs. Ruding, Hawkins and Lindsay go, the following synopsis will

* *Silver Coins of England*, p. 79.

illustrate the various Anglo-Saxon monarchs whose halfpence have yet been brought to light, the number of these pieces, and reference to their illustration and present ownership where known:—

Half-pennies.	Cuerdale.	WEIGHTS.		Owners.
		Half-pennies. Grains.	Ordinary Pennies. Grains.	
3 Ed. the Elder....	1	7—9	15—26	Bodleian. B.M.
14 Alfred	14	10	20—24	B.M.
11 St. Eadmund....	11		17—24	„
1 Eadgar	—		20—24	C. R. Smith. Unpub ^d . (broken up.)*
2 Ed. Confessor....	—	10—13 $\frac{9}{10}$	15—28	Lindsay, pl. v, No. 136
3 Siefred	3	7 $\frac{7}{10}$ —9 $\frac{4}{10}$	20 $\frac{1}{2}$ —22	from Cuerdale hoard.
23 “Ebraice Civitas”	23	8 $\frac{4}{10}$ —9	21—23 $\frac{1}{2}$	„
62 “Cunetti”	62	9	21—22	„
7 “Mirabilia Fecit”	7	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	21—23	„
3 “Quentovici” ..	3	8 $\frac{1}{10}$ —9 $\frac{7}{10}$		„

A careful comparison of the above table also clearly demonstrates the average weights of the recognized halfpence to be below not “above” the half of that of the respective issues of pennies so far as ascertained, though doubtlessly many under-sized and small-weighted pennies have erroneously been assumed to belong to the lesser denomination.

In the catalogue of coins found upon the sea-shore of Cheshire, compiled by the writer for *Ancient Meols*, two Saxon ones appear as halfpennies of Cnut. These, however, must really be regarded as pennies, the one weighing 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ grains, whilst in the other case the rim has been so carefully clipped away, it only *seemed* complete, remaining of the size and weight of a half-penny, as it was believed to be.

* Upon enquiry of the weight of this unique piece, the fact transpired of its having been *broken to pieces in the pocket* of one of our best Numismatists, who had borrowed it! Some description of it appeared in the Proceedings of the Numismatic Society, *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. v, p. 37.

Returning to the halfpence of the Confessor, the apt remarks of Mr. Lindsay* prove important.

“Whether any of the Confessor’s coins should be considered as halfpence has been a question often discussed, from the circumstance of there being coins of this prince of almost every weight from 10 to 28 grains, and the lightest is more than half the weight of the heaviest. I have, however, one in my own cabinet, in the best preservation, which weighs only 10 grains, and the type, although similar to that on larger ones, is on a very minute scale; it bears on the obverse, EPARD. REX, and on the reverse, PVLFRICON LVND.; it is engraved in Pl. V, No. 136 of this work, and has more the appearance of being a half-penny than any of the Confessor’s coins I have yet seen. There is no doubt indeed but large payments were at that time made by weight, but it would be difficult to suppose that in minor transactions a minute coin of ten grains would pass for the same value as one of twenty-eight.”

The weight of our Cheshire example being as stated only 7 grains, or only *one-fourth* of this king’s heavier pennies, its occurrence adds valuable confirmation to Mr. Lindsay’s sensible opinion. It is indeed a piece of numismatic value.

From the already published fact of the coins of this period, found upon our beach, proving in a much better state than any other—and all classes have their representatives here,—the writer has long held that the series, small as it is as yet, deserves especial attention, and the recent finds deepening that conviction,

* “A View of the Coinage of the Heptarchy,” 1842, p. 94.

a complete list of all known as found up to the end of 1867 is now appended:—

1	Styca of Redulf, King of Northumbria,....	A.D.	844
2	„ Ethelred, ditto	.... „	840-848
2	Sceattas of uncertain appropriation.		
1	Penny of Edgar, King of England.....	„	958-975
2	„ Ethelred II, ditto	..... „	978-1016
5	„ Cnut, ditto	..... „	1016-1035
2	„ Ed. the Confessor, ditto	.....	} „ 1042-1066
1	Halfpenny or Third ditto ditto	.....

Total, sixteen coins of the Saxon and Danish periods, thirteen of which have been secured within the past ten years.

1 BRASS.—*Buckle*, or Hasp, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch broad.

1 Penannular *Brooch*, a fragment.

1 PEWTER.—*Boss* of circular form, plated with *silver* upon a reddish-coloured base resembling copper, but probably a mixed metal, no green oxidation being apparent. This object has evidently been a personal ornament, and may have been worn in place of a brooch.

1 Diamond-shaped object, possibly used as a counter.

1 IRON.—*Blade* from a pair of *scissors*, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long.

1 *Arrow-head*, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch long, with unusually extended barbs.

2 GLASS.—*Beads* of small size (fig. 11) semi-transparent, still retaining their polish, and of a greenish-blue color. Their shape is very rare, being that of a pipe of Oporto wine, and approximate forms are only to be found among *Egyptian* and *Saxon* ornaments of this class, of which a few examples are in the Mayer Museum, the nearest being in the splendid Faussett Collection of beads rifled from Saxon graves in Kent. These minute beads were found whilst gardening over a portion of the ancient Saxon cemetery on Hilbre Island by one of the daughters of Mr. Hughes.

- 8 *Beads*, globular or ring-shaped, measuring from $\frac{1}{8}$ to $\frac{7}{8}$ of an inch in diameter. Six are of straw colour, one green, and one is apparently of *stone*, and only coated over with a vitreous paste.
- 1 *Ditto* of a dark colour, strongly ribbed, a fragment of a class very scarce at this location.
- 1 *Loop* of light-coloured glass, probably the handle of a small vessel.

Mediæval.

- 1 SILVER *Penny* of Stephen or Henry II, probably the former, but the piece has lost most of the margin by clipping. The reverse bears a type published by Ruding as one of Stephen. It was minted at Bristol.
- 10 *Pennies* of Henry II. Four minted at London, one at Ipswich (*Gipe*), leaving three odd *halves* and two *quarters*, uncertain.
- 12 *Pennies* of Henry III (inclusive of several odd *halves*). Seven of London mint, one Durham, one Winchester, one Canterbury, one Irish, and one uncertain.
- 11 *Pennies*, Edward I or II. Four minted at London, one Durham, two Canterbury, two Dublin, and two uncertain.
- 2 *Half-pennies*, Edward I or II. Both minted at London.
- 1 *Penny*, Edward III. Minted at York.
- 1 *Farthing*, Edward III. Minted at London.
- 1 *Penny* of Alexander I or II of Scotland.
- 1 *Ring-brooch*, $\frac{3}{4}$ -inch diameter, with pin complete, but crushed out of form; the ring has a little floral ornament in three places, and the head of the pin is engraved.
- 1 *Pin* of a much larger and finer brooch, similarly ornamented.

1 LATTEN.—*Seal* of fourteenth century (fig. 7), oviform, of St. Margaret. It is badly oxydised, but has without doubt been inscribed, in the French style, “SAVNCTA MARGARETE.” The name is alone legible now. The saint is accompanied by her usual symbols; she stands upon the body of a dragon, holding in the left hand a staff surmounted by a cross, posed in the jaws of the monster. To the right is seen a tree, to complement the bit of sylvan scenery. This seal is in Mr. Potter’s possession; it was washed out of the *mediæval stratum* by one of the spring tides of March. It has a raised handle, and the engraved face is one inch long by three-quarters of an inch broad.

1 *Seal*, likewise of fourteenth century (fig. 6), of the sharply oval or *vesica piscis* form, found in April, and now in the writer’s collection. The small remains of a handle being much corroded, broke upon examination, but the face, which measures 1in. by $\frac{5}{8}$ in., is in a well preserved condition. It bears the inscription “TIMETE. DOMINV.” (Fear the Lord), around a bird, which was supposed to be intended for a modification of the Eagle, with a *fleur de lys* in its beak, as appears on the Ancient Seal of the Burgesses of Liverpool, which has been missing since the capture of the town by Prince Rupert. Mr. Albert Way, than whom perhaps no living antiquary has had more experience in sigillary lore, only sees in the creature the typical bird of Hope, with a sprig of foliage in its bill. He likewise suggests this to have been the authentic of a *lady*. The legend “*Timete Dominum*,” proves singularly to be a very scarce one of mediæval times.

- 1 *Brooch*, of a rare lozenge-shape (fig. 17), finely digitated throughout the face, but minus the pin ; $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $\frac{7}{8}$ in. diameter.
- 1 *Brooch* (portion of), centrally femail-shaped, but formed with a cusp on either side for the reception of colored pastes, one of which is wanting.
- 1 The missing fragment of a large *ring-brooch* found in 1866,* closely set with small cusps, containing alternately green and yellow pastes.
- 1 *Brooch* of oval form, with circular receptacle for coloured pastes.
- 1 *Brooch* of horse-shoe form, the ends recurved.
- 12 *Fermails*, or simple ring-brooches, mostly plain, but one bears a convoluted pattern.
- 1 *Hasp* or *Ring*, possibly worn upon two fingers, with a peculiar ornament upon the face, which has been richly gilt. (Fig. 21.)
- 8 *Finger Rings*, chiefly plain, but of diverse form ; one has three rows of finely braided ornament in front.
- 11 *Ear Rings*, differing in size and shape, but all plain ; in one instance the rim of a small buckle has thus been utilised by the attachment of fine wire.
- 18 *Rings*, inclusive of a few circular links, from small chains, all plain.
- 1 *Figure of a Pigeon* or other bird (fig. 15), with loop at back, apparently intended for a pendant ornament or amulet.
- 1 *Object* of uncertain use and peculiar form. (Fig. 20.)
- 1 Portion of *guard* from a *dagger*.
- 12 *Handles* from small *cofferets*, or toilet boxes ; they are
—— all of tripartite form.

* Trans., New Series, Vol. VII, Pl. I, fig. 7, p. 185.

- 1 *Handle* from some larger article of furniture (fig. 16), representing two figures, possibly Adam and Eve, with intertwining serpents, and terminating in a serpent's head.
- 1 *Handle* of a *Spoon*, with ornamented head and ringle.
- 1 *Fish Hook*, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches long.
- 1 Double *Hook*, two inches long.
- 2 *Keys* formed, as usual, of thin sheathing; one is perfect, with double ward, and hole at the end of the handle for suspension.
- 1 *Key Eylet* from a cofferet.
- 1 *Buckle* of unusual shape, two inches long (fig. 22), found perfect, but since fractured.
- 108 *Buckles* (including fragments) of personal straps.
- 225 *Other attachments of straps*, viz., fifty-one *Hasps*, thirty-one *Tags*, one hundred and thirty-seven *Studs*, &c. One of the tags has been richly ornamented and gilt: several studs bear floral designs.
- 1 *Boss*, or *Button* (a moiety), curiously chased and gilt.
- 1 *Loop*, probably from the head of a *Gypciere* or *Purse*. (Fig. 18.)
- 2 *Pointed objects* of uncertain use.
- 1 *Fragment*, bearing the figure of an elephant leaning against a tree. The other moiety of this ornament would probably represent some other animal *vis-a-vis*. (Fig. 12.)
- 11 *Pins*, of various sizes, mostly with globular heads.
- 9 *Needles*, 2ins. to $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long.
- 1 Top of a small *Bell*, with handle.
- 1 *Clapper* of Hand-bell, globular.
- 40 *Fragments* of miscellaneous objects.
- 1 PEWTER OR LEAD.—*Bead* of small size.

- 7 *Brooches* of ornamental character, all more or less fragmentary. Three have floral facets at intervals, on a circular rim, like that engraved in *Ancient Meols*, Pl. V, figs. 5 or 6.
- 5 *Ring Brooches*. One has been inscribed "*Ihesus Nazarenus Rex*;" another is complete with pin, which though much worn, still covers the diameter of the ring, which bears an indented pattern.
- 1 *Ornament* of semi-circular form, with a cusp at each end, originally set with coloured pastes. (Fig. 14.)
- 7 *Ornaments* of curious open or pierced work, some of which may have formed parts of brooches. One of tripartite form is noticeable for very delicate tracery *in this metal*. Another example is engraved. (Fig. 13.)
- 6 *Crucifixes*, mostly of simplest form, and perforated for suspension. One more shapely bears a pellet terminally on each limb.
- 1 *Ear-ring*, perfect, but quite plain.
- 1 *Finger Ring*, a fragment.
- 2 *Rings*, one plain and small, the other ornamental.
- 1 *Token*, apparently ecclesiastical, of tenth to twelfth century. It is of small size, and bears a "cross batonée" and other symbols, which, having never been in high relief, are now quite unrecognisable.
- 1 *Quarter* of a *circular piece*, treated like the currency (all silver) of 13th to 14th century which probably passed as such, having been quartered between the bars of a plain voided cross.
- 1 *Merchant's Mark*, with an urn-shaped ornament or sign.
- 1 *Cup*, of oval form, $\frac{3}{4}$ in. to $\frac{1}{4}$ in. wide and $\frac{5}{8}$ in. high. At each side of the bottom a small loop has been attached for suspension, one of which remains.

- 1 *Needle Case* (lower portion of), with neat reticulated pattern upon each of the four sides. (Fig. 23.)
- 2 *Thread Winders*, four limbed.
- 1 *Spiked Object*, 2 inches long, with cruciform ornament.
- 17 *Buckles* of personal straps, including fragments.
- 47 *Other attachments* of straps, viz., nine hasps, eight tags and thirty studs, several of the last being spade-shaped.
- 1 *Tag* of a Belt, $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, $\frac{3}{4}$ in. wide; tripartite a-top, with rounded extremity, including a heraldic *Swan* within a circle of the cable pattern. (Fig. 9.) The local family using this device as a crest in mediæval times has yet to be ascertained.
- 4 *Spindle Whorls*. One (fig. 8), found by the writer upon Hilbre Island, and among *débris* of mediæval buildings, is the first recorded in this district as *inscribed*. It is imperfect, but the legend appears to have been "Ave Maria Gracia."
- 1 Part of a *Mould*, with circular hollows.
- 2 *Bells*, with clappers, possibly for attaching to hawks.
- 6 Miscellaneous fragments.
- 7 IRON.—*Buckles*, several belonging to harness.
- 8 *Hasps* and *Ring Links* from harness chains.
- 8 *Blades of Knives*, 2 to 4 inches long. One retains its *haft of wood* secured by closely set *rivets of latten*.
- 3 *Spur*, and loose "*prychs*" from others, of the Norman period.
- 16 *Nails*, of various sizes, some flat-headed.
- 5 *Fish Hooks*; several appear to have been coated with pewter to avoid oxidation.
- 28 *Clench Bolts* of boats. Some of the smaller sized of these objects, in common with others found elsewhere, have been assumed to have secured the *handles of shields* of the Saxon period. The shape is certainly

identical; but in the absence of known sepulture here, as on the coasts of Kent* and Normandy, they are more naturally considered the rivets of the planking of boats and other small craft. As they have undoubtedly been found in Saxon cemeteries, many will belong to this era. Our Cheshire examples will no doubt include others of later date.

3 Portions of *Horse Shoes*.

2 *Gouges*, 4 inches long.

1 *Rod*, of slender form, covered with a finely braided pattern.

6 Objects of uncertain use.

1 LEATHER.—*Strap*, probably used upon the person during fifteenth or sixteenth century. It would appear to have been made of double pieces throughout, rivetted together every three-quarters of an inch by studs of silver, which are lozenge-shaped above, and bear a little ornamentation around the edge, the centre being slightly raised in a cruciform manner; the lower heads are round and quite plain. It is now in three pieces, measuring altogether 31 inches, by $\frac{3}{8}$ -inch wide, but may have been double the length. Objects of this class of personal dress fastenings are of great rarity; and Dr. Hume, when hunting for examples of leather straps or belts with the common metallic attachments of the mediæval period so numerous found upon our shore, was unable to get a sight of any, even in the British Museum, the nearest approach to them being coarsely studded straps from harness.

* As at Sarre, whence many have been procured and preserved at the Charles Museum, Maidstone, *Coll. Antiqua*, Vol. VI, p. 262.

- 1 *Sheath of a Dagger*, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, apparently formed of thin *kid*, made double throughout, and slightly ornamented. Date fourteenth or fifteenth century.
- 4 Remains of *Shoes*, of similar date, consisting of three inner *soles*, one of which is very sharply pointed, and below the instep only $\frac{7}{8}$ -inch wide; and toe piece.
- 1 BONE.—Portion of a *Comb*.
- 1 *Scoop*, 3 inches long.
- 1 *Skewer*, a natural bone, pointed, 4 inches long.
- 1 *Guard of a Dagger* (fig. 24), 3 inches broad, $\frac{3}{4}$ -inch deep, carved with the dot and circle ornament, an enlarged one in the centre.
- 2 *Hafts of Knives*, one with iron rivets, the other capped with iron at each end.
- 2 STONE.—Amulets of Hæmatite, one lozenge-shaped and corrugated, the other smooth.
- 1 Portion of *Spindle whorl*.
- 2 *Whetstones*.
- 46 TERRA COTTA.—Fragments, mostly of large crocks of twelfth to sixteenth century. Many exhibit a partial glazing inside or outside, and some shew specimens of the curiously *slashed* handles of this period, also of a small indented pattern on the body. Several of the bottoms are splayed out through the application of the potter's thumb at regular intervals.
- 1 GLASS.—Head of a Pin of latten, of pale yellow colour, well formed, and all but perforated by the metal.

Later English.

- 1 SILVER.—*Shilling* of James I. The whole of the rim has been clipped off, rendering the year of mintage uncertain.

1 *Hasp* of oval form, in two divisions, slightly ornamented.

1 COPPER.—*Token* of seventeenth century. (Fig. 5.)

Obverse—"RICHARD CRUMPTON." In the field an anchor fouled. *Reverse*—"OF LEVERPOOLE 1667 ;" in the field "HIS HALF PENY." This is one of the *eight* types of seventeenth century tokens known to have been issued by Liverpool tradesmen, and published in Mr. Boyne's* work descriptive of these pieces, which were only allowed for about ten years, chiefly of the reign of Charles II, or 1658-1669. The Derbyshire family of Crumpton, modified orthographically in *Crampton* and *Crompton*, to which it is believed the issuer of this token belonged, has produced several members of distinction. The following notices are extracted from "*The Liver, a History of Liverpool*," by J. G. Underhill, a work still only in MS., and lately presented by our respected President to the Free Library, Vol. III, p. 50., and Supplement.

"CROMPTON, *John*, Bailiff of Liverpool, 1701 ;—
Churchwarden, 1722.

John, Gentleman, High Street, 1766.

Peter, M.D., of Eton House, near Wavertree ; was nominated as a Candidate in opposition to Mr. Canning at the Election in 1818. Died 23rd Jan., 1833, aged 68."

A gentleman acquainted with the family has kindly supplied the following supplemental information :—

"Peter Crompton, M.D., had a numerous family, "viz., Edward, Charles, Stamford, Albert, Henry,
— "Emma, Mary, and a third daughter. Charles, the

* London, 1858. Mr. Boyle describes Richard Crumpton's token as displaying on the obverse "*Hope seated upon an anchor*." Either this is a mistake, or R. C. has issued two varieties of his token in the same year.

“ second son, was a Barrister, Judge of the Court
 “ of Passage in Liverpool and one of H. M. Petit
 “ Judges. He married a daughter of Thos. Fletcher,
 “ sometime a banker in Liverpool, of the firm of
 “ Fletcher, Roscoe and Co., by whom he had a
 “ numerous family, amongst others a son Charles, a
 “ barrister, and a daughter Mary, who married the
 “ Rev. Ll. Davies, of St. Mary-le-bone, London.
 “ Judge Crompton was a candidate for Preston after
 “ the Reform Bill passed, but was not elected. One,
 “ at least of Dr. Crompton’s daughters, survives ;
 “ she is married to Robert Hutton, Esq., of Putney
 “ Park, near London, formerly in extensive business
 “ as a coach manufacturer in Dublin, which city he
 “ has represented in Parliament. The other children
 “ never married. Dr. Crompton had a cousin and
 “ brother-in-law, Abraham Crompton, who, I think,
 “ purchased property in Walton and Fazakerley at the
 “ sale of the estates of the Chorley family, which was
 “ attainted in the rebellion of 1745. He married a
 “ cousin (from Derby), and had also a large family,
 “ none of whom attained any distinction. One daugh-
 “ ter is married to Henry Booth, Esq., formerly
 “ Secretary to the London and North Western Railway,
 “ and previously to the Liverpool and Manchester
 “ Railway, of which he was an active promoter.
 “ Another Miss Crompton, of this family, is married to
 “ Edmund Potter, Esq., an extensive calico printer
 “ at Dinting, Derbyshire, and now M.P. for Carlisle.
 “ A third married Townshend Wood, of the firm of
 “ Biddulph, Wood and Co., Ironmasters, Neath. A
 “ fourth married Mr. Armstrong, formerly Treasurer to
 “ the county of Lancaster. A fifth married firstly a

- “ Mr. Thornborrow, secondly a Mr. Gawthrop, and
 “ resided at Lune Villa, Lancaster. I do not think
 “ any of the sons, of whom there were two or three,
 “ ever married.”
- 3 *Buckles*, one 3 by $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches, of eighteenth century, with
 double pin perfect.
- 2 BRASS.—*Pins* of seventeenth century.
- 1 PEWTER.—*Buckle*, $2\frac{1}{2}$ by 2 inches, with single pin and a
 pivot of brass.
- 1 *Weight*, a quarter ounce.
- 1 WOOD.—*Haft* of a knife of seventeenth century.
- 1 GLASS.—Upper portion of a *Bottle*, *temp.* Queen
 Elizabeth.
- 7 TERRA COTTA.—*Pipe-heads* of sixteenth century, one
 bearing I.B. and another a radiated ornament on the
 rest.
- 6 *Ditto*, of seventeenth century. One has R.L. between
 a *star* and *crescent* on rest; another T.B. with a floral
 ornament above and below, within a corded circle.
- 8 *Ditto*, of eighteenth century, without potters' marks.
- 1 Portion of sixteenth or seventeenth century *pipe-stem*,
 rubbed down to be worn as a *bead*.
- 4 *Moulds* for casting rifle bullets of the last century; they
 are of two sizes, and found about the village of Great
 Meols.
- 3 Specimens of calcareous incrustation from brine-pans of
 the *Salt-works* formerly existent on Hilbre, impressed
 with the heads of the rivets.

906 Total number of objects of archæological interest, irre-
 spective of animal remains, found on or near the
 sea-beach of Cheshire in 1867.

Analyzing the above we find,—

Objects of Pre-historic date	10
Romano-British	45
Saxon and Danish	21
Mediæval	789
Late English	41
	———— 906

or Pre-historic $\frac{1}{90}$, Romano-British $\frac{1}{20}$, Saxon and Danish $\frac{1}{43}$, leaving English about $\frac{8}{9}$ of the whole ; whilst, classified as to material,—

Silver	47
Bronze and Latten	516
Lead and Pewter	126
Iron	93
Terra-cotta and Glass	92
Leather	6
Bone	8
Stone ;	18
	———— 906

MAMMALIAN REMAINS.

During the past year, in addition to the usual more or less fragmentary antlers of deer, with other bones and teeth of horses, oxen, swine, sheep and goats, the undermentioned osseous remains have occurred, which invite more attention and may prove of some interest to readers.

RUMINANTIA.—The relics of early oxen in Wirral are believed to have been confined to two species, viz., *Bos Primi-genius*, an animal of large proportions, and *Bos Longifrons*, a much smaller creature, remarkable for a long and narrow-fronted head and extremely short curved horns. The latter would appear to have been co-existent with several of the ancient British races, continuing through the Romano-British and Saxon periods, and finally merging into the mixed race

of our domestic cattle, about the thirteenth century. Of the history of the former we know little beyond its prevalence throughout England in pre-historic times, but always associated with man. As regards the sea-shore of Wirral, where the relics of human occupation, constant and unbroken from primeval times downward, are so unusually numerous, one hundred osseous remains of *Bos Longifrons* are found to one of the larger and earlier species: in fact two or three only have been recorded. A fine and perfect *last lumbar vertebra* of this or other large ruminant, was found to the seaward of the Leasowe embankment, and had no doubt been washed out of the upper arboreal concrete or the underlying blue marl, below which no organic animal remains have been observed. It measures no less than 14 inches across and $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in depth, the lateral processes being very large in comparison with the analogous bone in the skeletons of a Brahmiu bull and a fine specimen of the great Irish deer. The spinal orifice also proves larger than in these animals, measuring $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in depth. In addition to the two species of *Bos* mentioned, a third ruminant, viz., a variety of Bison (*B. Priscus*) has been ascertained to have once inhabited this country, remains of which have been procured from the ancient lake-beds of Cropthorn in Worcestershire. It is thus not impossible that our vertebral relic may appertain to this species. Certainly it is not the first bone found here whose paternity proves very difficult of appropriation.

SOLIPEDIA.—The *left femur* of a large horse, measuring seventeen inches in length, was lately brought to the writer, found by Joseph Williams, whilst engaged in deepening a pit upon Wallasey Marsh, a spot probably very rich in mammalian remains. He firmly believed it to have belonged to a specimen of the Great Irish “Elk,” and reported the *skull* of the animal, found by his brother, to have been sent to Mr. Mayer, but this has yet to be traced out.

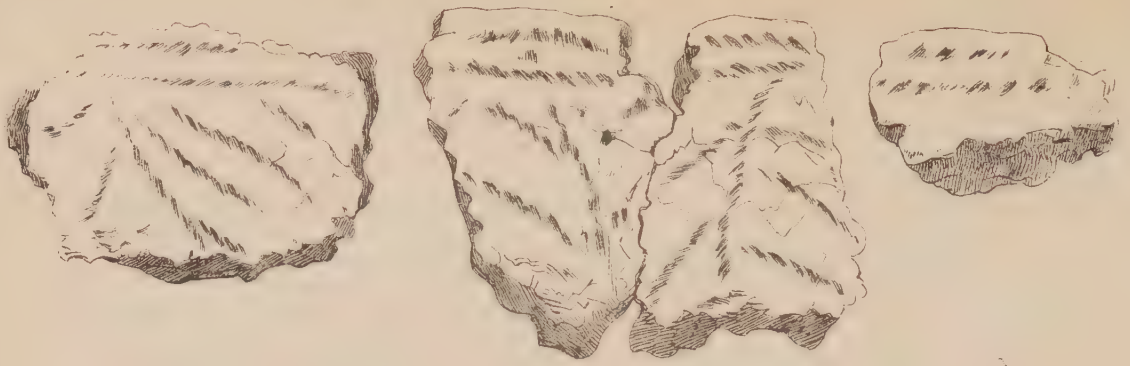
CETACEÆ.—In the course of last summer, Mr. Samuel Strong of Wallasey, found occasion to renew the flooring of one of his cottages, probably one of the oldest in this village, judging from the timber at the gable ends which, like those supporting the roofs of early Tudor Halls, are of the inverted boat-keel shape, and very substantial for so small a tenement. After removal of the worn-out pavement, four feet below it, a much older, and probably the seventeenth century, flooring was discovered, composed of clay, imbedded in which were pieces of sandstone and, singular to relate, large *bones*, all evidently used to promote the durability of the mass. The first osseous remains noticed were broad and flat, and not unnaturally supposed by Mr. Strong's sons to be rotten boards; it was not until after unceremonious breakage that their real nature became apparent. These were probably *scapulæ*; but farther on, another bone was met with—a *caudal vertebra* of some species of *whale*—of a depressed spherical form. It is injured on one side by the pick, but both have been covered by a hard enamel crust; the centre through age is extremely porous. It has no spinal orifice,—thus indicating a position near the extremity of the tail,—and measures $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length by 6 inches in breadth.

At the end of December another vertebral bone of a *whale* was found upon the shore near Leasowe embankment, in close proximity to the spot where the *skull*, recorded in the writer's *Notabilia of the Natural History of the Mersey District*, 1863—5, was secured just two years previously. It is by no means unlikely that both belonged to the same individual, possibly stranded some centuries ago upon one of our sand-banks, the remains being washed thence into gullies on the sea-board. Comparing the vertebral bone lately found with those of *Johnson's Hump-backed Whale*—the only skeleton of the class available for comparison—it proves to agree in size, as regards the cylindrical (central) portion, with the

tenth from the caudal extremity, but in size of the spinal orifice with the *fifteenth*. The form also is different, and though less so than the Wallasey example, we have the remains of two species of whales, which may prove quite as distinct from one another as from the only examples known to have reached our shores in recent times.

It is to be hoped that Mr. T. J. Moore, to whom the writer is indebted for valuable aid in the endeavour to identify these remains, will shortly favour the Society with his long-promised critical dissertation upon the Cetacean ones, now unexpectedly added to by the examples above recorded.

Mr. Hardwick states that, during recent years, numerous skulls and other bones of the *Bos Primigenius* have been found in the bed of the Ribble near Preston—a very fine skull being lately procured there. They have been brought to light through dredging operations, or excavations for railway bridges, occurring most frequently near the junction of the fresh water stream with the tidal flow. The mammalian deposits in the higher portion of the old Wallasey Pool have doubtlessly accumulated under similar conditions, for there can be little doubt that the present sluggish stream represents one of much larger volume debouching here in former times.



Nº 6 IN PLAN.



Nº 7 IN PLAN.



J. LAWSON, 28 NORTH JOHN ST. L'POOL.

ANCIENT BRITISH REMAINS
FOUND AT WAVERTREE, NEAR LIVERPOOL, 1867

AN ANCIENT-BRITISH CEMETERY AT WAVERTREE.

By Henry Ecroyd Smith.

READ 14TH MAY, 1868.

DURING the months of June and July, 1867, sepulchral remains of a very early character, and of extreme rarity in the lower Mersey district, were encountered by workmen in the employ of Mr. Patrick O'Connor, of High Street, Wavertree, in the course of excavations necessary for a double house, since erected, and now appropriately designated "*Urn Mount.*" The locality is gently rising ground in Victoria Park, about half-way between Sandown Lane and Wavertree Green; before the numerous villas were erected around, it must have commanded an extensive view—especially to the south and south-west—now much restricted.

No less than six fine *Ossuaries* or urns, containing osseous remains, would appear to have been found and destroyed before the character of these valuable witnesses to the primeval occupation of the neighbourhood was recognised, and it is owing to the timely perception of Mr. Andrew Young, Surveyor to the Local Board, that we are primarily indebted for the possession of what little remains could then and subsequently be secured. He was present, by good hap, when the men were breaking into the large urn (No. 6), and though its fragments were never entirely recovered, enough exists to exhibit the contour of the vessel, which measures thirteen inches in height by eleven inches where widest, viz., a little below the base of the *collar* or over-lapping border, a feature

which, with the widely open mouth (nine inches in diameter), is common to most urns of this early class. Without, the ossuary is devoid of all ornament, the only trace of design being a succession of diagonal incisions around the inner side of the rim. In shape, unusually contracted below the collar, it proved, with one exception, to be of the coarsest material of any, the paste being replete with angular fragments of a white flinty quartz and limestone, but the clay and limestone having become black through the introduction of the cinerary remains, all glowing from the funeral pyre, the white particles are rendered more noticeable than ever. The discolouration extends through fully two-thirds of the thick body of the crock. The contents comprised sand, and ashes of wood and bone, to the amount of a pint, with a few fragments of charcoal, a large quantity of clean calcined bones, and two manipulated flints, edged on the broader side, but white and splintering from the excessive cremation to which they had been subjected. All proved in a perfectly dry condition, the urn having been inverted over them upon a base of sandstones, and to some extent protected from superincumbent pressure by a cap of flattish stones, two or three inches of soil only intervening. The bones are apparently those of a young person not over ten or twelve years of age, and probably younger, judging from fragments of the skull, jaws, and a few teeth, little else having been identified; no animal remains have as yet been detected among them. Within a couple of feet of this vase an arrow-point of light-coloured flint, and excellently manipulated (see plate), was picked up by Master O'Connor, and the writer subsequently found other instruments of this material, more or less perfect, including two "*scrapers*" as they are usually termed, which answered the purpose of a carpenter's small chisel, together with a "*core*" or rough lump from which pieces had been chipped for manipulation into objects of use.

Of the six ossuaries previously found, and which are reported as mostly of large size and inverted over their contents, all trace was already lost to sight, their brittle nature, from imperfect firing, producing disintegration, in addition to fracture by pick, spade, and ejection, and it was only by the greatest care and vigilance that the writer was enabled to find specimens of the ware of which some of these were composed, and no two of the urns seem to have been exactly alike, either in shape or ornamentation.

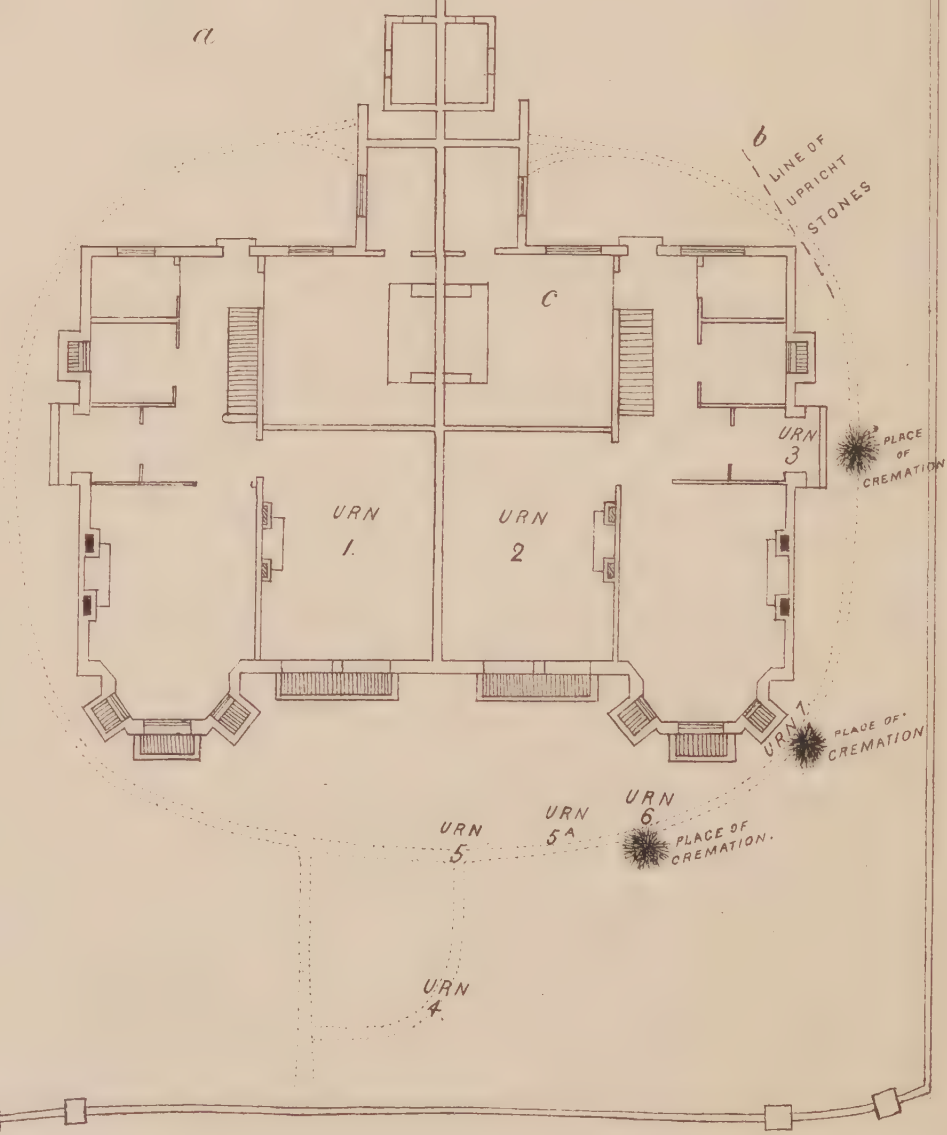
In one of these instances we have fragments of a very fine urn, the collar, and perhaps the body also, of which, has been impressed throughout whilst in a plastic state, with strips of twisted thong in a succession of tree-like forms, of which specimens are rendered on a reduced scale in the plate. This peculiar design is believed to be of unusual occurrence. Near Winwick, Dr. Robson found, in 1859,* portions of an urn bearing a design somewhat analagous, which he denominates a "feathered pattern," but it more closely depicts the frond of a fern with its *pinnae*; from its containing a dart, or rather, perhaps, a spear-head, it was probably of somewhat later date than our examples. Upon the rim is a double row of this twisted pattern, but of smaller size, whilst the inner surface bears another double row of still finer impressions. The ware is like that of the large urn, No. 6, being coarse and thick, black inside, and abounding in white stony particles. A second example comprises some small pieces, probably also of a collar, impressed around by five or six lines of the same fine twisted thong or fibre, which at intervals is varied by a cross section of plain striated ones. The ware is finer than in the above-mentioned cases and of a uniform colour, within and without. A third specimen is also represented by only a few fragments from below the collar, but here the ornamentation has been effected by a finely pointed

* *Transactions*, Vol. XII, p. 189, pl. 7.

instrument, and consists of a succession of small circular indentations arranged in diamond forms. Probably this urn was a small one, the paste being of a much finer quality than even the last mentioned, and destitute of pebbles, gravel, or stone of any kind.

On the morning of the 26th of July, one of the men, whilst enlarging the excavation in front of the south-east bay window, found an eighth urn (No. 7) which might have been saved whole, but, despite all warnings received, the stupid man was persuaded by his fellows to overturn it upon the ground in order to search the contents for gold—a process continually recurring among the ignorant labourers in the south of England, where such “finds” are frequent—the result being a fracture of the collar, and loss of a portion which could never be found. This ossuary was not inverted like the others, but stood upright, the mouth being barely covered by an irregular slab of sandstone $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, 9 inches long, and 6 inches broad, and the urn itself being only $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches high by 6 inches broad, (mouth $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter,) this heavy stone was probably supported, to some little extent, at either end by the soil or smaller stones. In this instance, as was to be expected, the osseous remains were somewhat damp through percolation from above; they comprised ashes, sand, and small osseous fragments, evidently infantine, and the absence of any instruments, or even chippings, of flint, confirm this as the interment of a very young child, and likewise the opinion, early entertained by the writer, that the locality was not a mere tumulus or cairn of a chieftain in whose grave-mound a chance interment or two had subsequently taken place, but the regularly recognised place of sepulture of some tribe or tribes inhabiting the neighbourhood. The colour of the urn is a uniform reddish-brown on both surfaces, but inwardly it is black; the shape is simple, and not so protuberant or swelling in the body as

PLAN
OF
URN MOUNT, WAVERTREE.
INDICATING THE POSITION OF THE
ANCIENT BRITISH REMAINS.



SCALE OF 1 6 12 24 36 48 FEET.

No. 6, the base also being larger in proportion. Its collar has been ornamented over three-fourths of its circumference, with a loosely twisted thong impressed in diagonal lines, a double row of similar but finer twist appearing as before within the rim.

Considerable public interest was excited through these discoveries of remains of so early an age, and of such scarcity in this part of England, and the Library and Museum Committee liberally engaged to recoup Mr. O'Connor for the expenses attendant upon a thorough examination of the surrounding ground. This was effected towards the close of the year, under the writer's superintendence, and the excavations occupied about six weeks. The results were in the main disappointing, for although the number of depositions already found was large, yet these having all been struck by the mere accidents of trenching, leaving considerable intermediate angles wholly untouched, it was felt that several more urns might not unnaturally or unreasonably be encountered during a carefully purposed scrutiny. On the contrary they effectually demonstrated that this group of ossuaries, occupying a space 45 feet by 40 feet, had, whether purposely or accidentally, been deposited nearly in lines, two running east and west, and one north and south; the last and one of the former, by a singular coincidence, became the courses of sewers, whilst the other formed part of the site excavated for cellarage. Such a complete forestalling could scarcely have been suspected, and it proved mortifying enough that no chance was thus afforded of securing a long desiderated *perfect* urn. The examination in its progress, though tedious, was however by no means devoid of interest, and a sketch of it is now subjoined.

Operations were commenced at the further end of the north-west garden, which although somewhat distant from the centre of discovery, it was yet desirable to examine upon at

least one side, inasmuch as near Over Darwen, at a very analogous sepulchral site, Mr. Charles Hardwick found one urn forty feet distant from the rest, all which proved to lay contiguously. The trenches were taken in breadths of about eight feet and were carried down to the rock, which was reached at a depth varying from three to five feet, but on this side no traces of any artificial disturbance of the virgin soil below the cultivated surface appeared, with the exception of a block of sandstone, about a foot in cube, which bears longitudinal groovings at irregular distances, as though produced by the sharpening of tools of stone or bone. As not the slightest trace of metal could be discovered throughout the protracted operations, the few instruments occurring being of flint, it is only reasonable to conclude that copper, tin, and iron were unknown to those who here performed the rites of sepulture over their dead.

At the north-east corner of the new building a trench, carried outside the sewer (which appears by a double dotted line in the plan) disclosed the abrupt termination of a *line of upright stone slabs*, fourteen in number, set closely edge to edge, and which, though varying in size, were in no instance above eighteen inches high. This series of blocks, first noticed in the formation of the sewer upon the east side, was found to take a north-west direction, and their line being uncurved, is most unlikely to have formed part of the sacred sepulchral enclosure. It more probably bordered upon one side a passage, leading from the direction of the old well on the south-east to some temple, village, or possibly another cemetery, at no great distance to the north-west. No artificial markings were observable upon these stones, indeed their small size forbade any expectation of such.

Proceeding along the eastern side, immediately opposite the centre of the threshold of the upper house where the urn (No. 3) is said to have been found, the *site of the funeral*

pyre, in which its contents had been cremated for burial, was plainly recognised. A platform, about three feet in diameter, composed of flat pieces of sandstone had first been laid upon the natural soil or sod, on which the fuel was placed for the fire, which had effected their discolouration to a depth of two inches, the smaller ones being blackened throughout. Much the same appearances were presented near the site of the latest found small ossuary, No. 7. As in the former instance the pyre was on the eastward of the place of burial, and the assumed infantile state of the deceased was confirmed by the narrowly circumscribed space occupied by the pyre, which has been appropriately small, and the discolouration of the little sandstone platform was proportionately limited. Near to the position of urn No. 6, that of the pyre lay to the south, and no stone was employed, the fire having been kindled upon the native sandy soil, resulting in its being blackened or other ways affected to the depth of a foot.*

The vicinity of each of the remaining outlying urns (numbered in sequence of discovery Nos. 4, 5, 5a) was closely examined, in the last forlorn hope of finding here some additional deposition, but nothing of interest appeared, and even the sites of cremation in connection with these—presuming each to have had one, if a distinct interment—had altogether disappeared through the same sewerage operations by which the urns themselves had been disclosed. A few rude flint instruments, mostly in a fractured state, were picked up on this side.

With the exception of a piece of Kimmeridge clay or bituminous shale, found at a depth of several feet below the floor of the eastern kitchen (c), and which, evidencing manipulation, has probably been part of a personal ornament, no

* In each of the above cases the site of cremation proved to be below that of the cinerary deposit, consequently the pyre has been placed in an artificial hollow.

objects, other than stone ones, were found laying any claim to an artificial character.

Having thus presented in detail all the *facts* of the recent discoveries, it may be advisable, before discussing the probable age of the remains, briefly to advert to such known features in the neighbourhood as may prove to have some connection with, or relationship to, them.

Firstly on this list must be placed the group—whether originally a megalithic circle or a cromlech it is now impossible to say—known as the *Calder Stones*. They are situate about one and a half miles to the southward and within five of the Exchange of Liverpool, yet are little known to its inhabitants, though ranging among the most curious primeval remains in the island; probably not one in a thousand is even aware of their existence! These six blocks of sandstone *now* form a circle of about 18 feet diameter, railed round for safety, but perfectly open to inspection, at a junction of three roads and opposite the residence of their proprietor, Henry Walker, Esq., called after the group, Calderstones. Their site and that of the cemetery were probably visible one from the other, until plantations and buildings have intervened.

In our *Transactions** will be found a very interesting paper, from the pen of Prof. Sir J. Y. Simpson of Edinburgh, upon these inscribed memorial stones, illustrated by engravings of the three best examples, and his valuable remarks upon their age being of great importance to our subject, are here summarised.

The cup and ring sculptured natural stones and rocks, to which class these belong, have been found in various parts of Great Britain and Ireland, abounding mostly in Argyllshire and Northumberland. These cuttings appear “on the surfaces of rocks *in situ*; on large stones placed inside and “outside the walls of old British cities and camps; on blocks

* New Series, Vol. V, p. 257, *et seq.*

“ used in the construction of the older dwellings and strong-
 “ holds of archaic living man ; on the interior of the *cham-*
 “ *bered sepulchres and kistvaens of the archaic dead* ; on
 “ monoliths and on cromlechs ; and repeatedly in Scotland on
 “ megalithic or so-called Druidical circles.” The Calder
 Stones are presumed to be an example of the last-named
 class, and are remarkable from exhibiting every recognised
 type as yet found of these mysterious hieroglyphs, of which
 no one has ventured even to *propose* a solution. Professor
 Simpson adds, “ this monument is, I believe, undoubtedly the
 “ oldest specimen that exists in the neighbourhood of Liver-
 “ pool of the art and work of archaic man. The race that
 “ first began to carve such stones were, there is reason to
 “ believe, that race among our forefathers who erected the
 “ cromlechs, the *chambered barrows*, the *stone circles*, the
 “ large monoliths, and the other megalithic works which are
 “ still found scattered over the British Islands. If we may
 “ judge from the evidence afforded by the barrows opened in
 “ our own country, in the Channel Islands and in Brittany,
 “ these megalithic builders appear to have been still sparingly
 “ if at all supplied with metallic tools, and the chisellings
 “ and carvings upon the stones themselves can be all, I find,
 “ easily imitated even on granite rocks *by flint weapons and*
 “ *a mallet*. The extreme rudeness and simplicity of the
 “ British cup and ring cuttings afford at least sufficient evi-
 “ dence of their very early and archaic character, be they
 “ Celtic or Pre-Celtic.”

Secondly, the *Old Well* upon the edge of Wavertree Green
 claims notice. We have no mention of it so early as the
 erection of the stonework which originally bore the inscrip-
 tion—copied apparently within the last two centuries as we
 now see it, and bearing the date of 1414—but there is nothing
 to militate against, on the contrary every likelihood in favour
 of, this fine natural spring having been known and appreciated

in early times, and consequently it would prove a strong inducement for settling in the vicinity. It is greatly to be regretted that the picturesque effect of what remains of the mediæval structure, as portrayed by *Troughton*, should be destroyed, as it is by a rude and tasteless walling up of the arch, since the introduction of a water supply from Rivington; but there is absolutely no reason why the stonework should not be left open as before, and preserved from wanton mischief by an efficient railing. The connection of the well with the cemetery and some adjacent *village* is indicated by the stone-bordered passage or path which, passing to eastward of the burial-place, certainly tended in this direction, and the existence of an ancient British settlement here is evidenced by the termination of the name *Wavertree*, *tre* being a common prefix to the designation of Cornish villages at the present day.*

Thirdly, within a stone's throw of the scene of the late discoveries, and in the same open ground, the existence, to within the last few years, of a number of *large stones*, some in an erect position, others recumbent on the surface, is a fact of no little importance in connection with the interments, although their precise character may be a matter of uncertainty. The absence of stone walls at this time would naturally render these blocks all the more conspicuous, and numbers of young men of the neighbourhood who, as boys, had enjoyed many a long romp about them, little suspected their original purpose, which may have been a megalithic circle, a cromlech, or kistvaen, or simply a wall enclosing the sacred burial-place. The equable depth of all the interments

* Mr. Joseph Boulton in his *Former and Recent Topography of Toxteth Park*, states *Waver* to be Anglo-Saxon for a common with a pool in it, but he does not explain the *tree*, which, on the assumption in the text, would render the complete meaning, *the village or settlement by the moorland pool*, which was doubtlessly supplied from the spring at the old well. The old names of *Wast pul* and *Wast yete* can hardly have been attached to the hamlet itself; they would more probably designate, the former a locality bordering an inlet of the river, and the latter an outlying farm or dwelling.

(from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 feet below the sod) seems to forbid the idea of a tumulus, or mound, which, raised to cover the kist of a chieftain, would extend over the adjacent ground. On the other hand the name of the neighbouring lane *Sandown*, might seem to refer to a knoll, natural or artificial, unless by *dune* the elevated ground above the cemetery was indicated. The stones are described as varying in size from 4 to 6 feet in length, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 feet in breadth. Some of them appear to have been last seen, fixed in gaps of the old fence, where as the only stone portion they would still be noticeable. Subsequently, upon the erection, about two years ago, of a high boundary wall to the east, they disappeared altogether, having been incorporated, as is supposed, in its foundations. Between this wall and "Urn Mount," a house was about this time erected, and whilst excavations were being made for its foundations a deposit of human remains (said to be unburnt) was found, about eight feet deep, reposing upon the solid rock, and devoid of any appearance of an urn or other receptacle. Near Winwick, in 1859,* Dr. Robson found deposits of unprotected *burnt* bones apart from the cinerary urns, but here there seemed reason for believing the mound to have been previously disturbed and the heaps of bones *re-interred*.

Had the large blocks which have thus unfortunately disappeared, been still available for examination, traces of carvings similar in character to those upon the Calder Stones might have been detected, and thus established beyond doubt a connection, the likelihood of which few will venture to question.

The writer is strongly of opinion that a close connection existed between *all* these features of early occupation; though absolute proof is yet desiderated, it may be furnished through future discoveries, meanwhile the balance of proba-

* *Trans.* Vol. XII, p. 189.

bilities is certainly in favour of it. Professor Simpson's forcible remarks relative to the up-rearers and sculptors of the Calder Stones may consequently be accepted as a basis of argument anent the cemetery. That the only two ossuaries retaining comparatively perfect forms, show these to be of a very early character is no longer matter of mere conjecture, but satisfactorily established by reference to similar types found in primeval British barrows, as on Eyam Moor,* in Derbyshire, and in the Flaxdale barrow, Middleton by Youlgrave, in 1846, where a very similar urn was found, measuring fourteen inches in height.† This was more carefully preserved than the Wavertree specimens, being enclosed within a rude cist partly cut in the rock, partly walled round, and covered with a large flat stone. About, were many pieces of flint more or less manipulated. Of this class of urns referrible to the earlier, or as is now believed Pre-Celtic, period, Mr. Bateman remarks, "They exhibit considerable variation in size, paste, and ornamentation. Those presumed, from their containing silicious weapons, to be the most ancient, are generally large, from ten to sixteen inches high, with a deep border more or less decorated by impressions of twisted thongs and incised patterns, in which the chevron or herring-bone constantly recurs in various combinations, occasionally relieved by circular punctures, or assuming a reticulated appearance. We believe that no piece of Celtic pottery hitherto discovered shows the slightest indication of an attempt to imitate any *natural* form, though the contrary is the case in the fictilia of most other savage nations. The paste of the older vessels consists of clay *mixed with pebbles or angular pieces of gravel*; and being wholly wrought by hand, without the

* *Vide* Bateman's *Ten Years' Diggings in Celtic and Saxon Grave-hills*, Appendix p. 247.

† *Ibid*, Appendix 279, *et seq.* *The Reliquary*, Vol. II, p. 62, *et seq.*

“ assistance of the wheel, is in large vessels necessarily thick,
 “ and from the imperfect method of firing has often been
 “ described as merely “ *sun-dried* ”—a mistake very evident
 “ to all who are practically acquainted with the readiness
 “ with which clay so hardened imbibes moisture and returns
 “ to its original, unctuous state. These urns are mostly of
 “ a brown or burnt amber colour outside, though occasionally
 “ of a lighter tint; inside they are always black, and often
 “ show marks indicating that their contents were deposited in
 “ a glowing state. It is only in rare instances that instru-
 “ ments of bronze have been found with the more ancient
 “ urns.” *

Urn of analogous type to our Nos. 6 and 7 have occurred at Oldbury, in Warwickshire,† mouth downward, in a cist beneath a late Roman or early Saxon interment; in Wiltshire, as at Upton Lovel, Winterbourne, Stoke, and Stonehenge;‡ near Dorchester,§ and at Amesbury;|| but when possessing a collar they are not found to taper so much as our No. 6 towards the base. Throughout the country more globular forms are universal, whilst the pointed ones, though evidently widely distributed, in common with the cup and ring sculptured stones,—probably the work of the same race,—are but occasional. The urns found near the landmark at Grange by West Kirby, in Cheshire, in 1849, not merely resembled the Wavertree examples in form, but likewise in position—all being inverted, save one, for the reception of which the sandstone rock had been removed. Three out of the number are stated by Mr. Mayer (*Trans.*, vol. i, p. 154) to have been secured in a perfect condition, and one, at least, was found

* As regards iron Sir R. C. Hoare asserts, in his *Ancient Wiltshire*, that in the early tumuli, no object in this metal has ever been found.

† *Coll. Antiqua*, vol. i, p. 33, 38.

‡ *Ancient Wiltshire*, frontispiece, &c.

§ *Akerman's Archæological Index*, pl. ii, figs. 7, 16; pl. iii, figs. 25, 27, 31, &c.

|| *Remains of Pagan Britain*, by Thomas Stackhouse, pl. 13.

to contain edged flints among the calcined bones. They were probably deposited by the same race of men.

It is not, however, from description and illustration alone that confirmation of the primitive character is derived. Mr. Llewellyn Jewitt, proprietor and editor of *The Reliquary*, an old friend and companion of the late Mr. Thomas Bateman, together with other gentlemen who have had no inconsiderable experience in the excavation of tumuli in Derbyshire, Yorkshire, and other counties, add their testimony that shape and composition alone are infallible indications of extremely early manipulation, in contradistinction to the few who urge that for such a purpose as interment, the commonest ware and the handiest shapes may have existed until, as well as subsequent to, the Roman subjugation of the country.

The contents of the ossuaries point in the same direction, for notwithstanding the presence of sand, wood, ashes and charcoal, the unpulverised fragments of bone are all *clean*, and are accompanied by no other foreign matter than flints, rude instruments, apparently, with one side worked off to a fine edge in each case, but which, having passed the fire, are calcined to whiteness and great brittleness. The perfect and excellently-shaped arrow point, found near urn No. 6, has on the contrary not been affected by cremation and remains semi-transparent. Evidently it was not deposited here, but no doubt lost from the person of one of the individuals engaged in the funeral obsequies, whilst the two "scrapers," having been broken, had simply been cast aside as no longer serviceable. These, one and all, betoken manufacture and use when metals were unknown, or, if at all known, unattainable. In a somewhat later but yet probably pre-Roman class of interments, where the ossuaries are usually found to be more ornamented and of a better form, instruments of *bronze* occasionally but very sparingly appear, as recently at Over Darwen, where a spear-head of this metal was found inside

one of the urns, which, nine in number, (one cremated deposit being uninclosed) varied like ours in character, some are black inside and much ruder in paste and ornament, being no doubt of earlier date than the rest. Here all but one had been deposited in an *upright* position, the mouths covered by rude slabs, whilst at Wavertree all were *inverted* with one exception. Whether custom varied in this respect in a race or tribe, or, obtaining in different ones the inversion preceded the upright position, or *vice versa*, we have as yet insufficient data for determining.

At Over Darwen, Mr. Hardwick tells us, the urns—in one of which was found a small vessel termed a drinking cup—were chiefly found under small heaps of stones, apparently placed either for the protection of the interment or to mark the locality; at Wavertree, as we have seen, a few flat stones were arranged over the deposition for protection in one case, but nothing which could be designated as a heap or pile. It is by no means improbable that in more than one instance here the rock has been removed for the admission of an urn; both Nos. 6 and 7 having been found in close contiguity to angular projections of it.

Summarising the above remarks, we find the following positive and negative evidence in favour not merely of a pre-historic but a truly primeval character, attaching to at least several of the depositions.

URNS.—Archaic type; coarse and thick paste, abounding in pounded stone; rude ornamentation by twisted thong or pointed instrument, and absence of the chevron or herring-bone pattern;—inverted position.

CONTENTS OF URNS.—Cremated bones, clean; silicious instruments of rudely anomalous forms and cremated; absence of “drinking cups” or “incense cups.”

ACCESSORIES.—Objects in the soil, showing manipulation, all natural substances; absence of all trace of bronze

or other metal ; the line of stone slabs tending *to* and *from* the cemetery ; the loose blocks, of unknown origin, lately still upright in, or recumbent on, the soil ; the “ Ancient Well ;” the Calder Stones, the earliest relics of handicraft in the district, formerly within sight ; Celtic termination and signification of of the local name, “ Wavertree.”

Such are the distinctive features of the discovery ; and, without speculating vainly upon the particular tribes, or even races, which here may have interred their dead, the earlier depositions at least may be safely assumed to have been effected by a race anterior to the Brigantes, and probably even pre-Celtic, apart from a connection with neighbouring remains which may or may not be ultimately established.

The production of this paper has devolved upon the writer by the force of circumstances. From his previous personal inexperience in this class of remains, he would gladly have seen the subject treated by other and abler hands. To the best of his ability he has endeavoured to render justice to such important historic relics. It only remains to acknowledge the courtesy of the Library and Museum Committee in allowing drawings to be made for illustration in the accompanying plate of the remains—Mr. O'Connor having generously presented these to the Free Public Museum.

THE HISTORICAL TOPOGRAPHY OF AIGBURTH AND GARSTON.

By Joseph Boulton, F.R.I.B.A.

(READ APRIL 30TH, 1868.)

PASSING south-eastwardly from the extra-parochial place of Toxteth—*i.e.*, “the place of the tree stocks on the river’s “bank”—Stockstedth—we enter the hamlet of Aigburth, *i.e.*, “the place of aikes or oaks,” to proceed to the hamlet of Garston or Gerston, *i.e.*, “the place of pasture,” (from Anglo-Saxon *gaers*, grass), a name, we are told, still in use in Sussex in its original signification of meadow. By some the name of Garston is derived from Gair, said to have been a great Danish Earl;* but I am not aware that there is anything in his history to identify him with this locality; whilst the frequent use of the word *hey*, *i.e.*, “meadow,” in the names of fields and parcels of land is very corroborative of the original pastoral character of the place; and in Camden’s maps of Lancashire and Cheshire the name is printed Graston. The hamlets of Aigburth and Garston constitute the township and chapelry of Garston, in the parish of Childwall.

Neither Garston nor Aigburth appears in Domesday Book, though Toxteth, Wavertree, Allerton, Childwall and Speke do; and I am not aware of any authentic mention of either prior to those in the Coucher Book of Whalley; in the earlier documents of which they are mentioned separately; and so late as the Reformation, in the survey then taken of the possessions of the Abbey, the marginal reference names Garston

* *Lancashire and Cheshire, Past and Present*, by Thomas Baines, vol. I, pp. 307, 308, and 313.

within Ackberth ; but in the body of that report they are styled the lordships or hamlets of Garston and Ackberths.

In an Inquisition on the death of Adam of Garston, 49 Hen. III, A.D. 1265, Gerstan is spoken of as part of the manor of West Derby.

In a similar inquest* lands and tenements in Garston are enumerated amongst the possessions of Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, brother of Edward I, who died in the latter part of 1296, or about the time at which it is believed the Coucher Book was compiled.

In 4 Ed. III, A.D. 1331, according to *Cal. Rot. Pat.*, the King confirmed the Abbey of S. Peter in Shrewsbury in the manor of Gerston, the Church of Walton, the Tithe of Newton, and the lordship and township of Ulston (Woolston) and Pulton ; the mediety of the fishery of the Mersey, and one-third part of Thelewall, as had been granted to them by Randle or Ranulf, formerly Earl of Chester. But the Register of the Abbey, as quoted in the last edition of Dugdale's *Monasticon*, varies somewhat from this. There it is set forth, respecting the gifts of Earls Godfrey and Roger, (1) That Earl Godfrey gave to the monks of S. Peter, Salop, the Church of S. Mary, of Walton, on the day of the dedication of that church to S. Mary, with all his township ; and that he gave the Church of S. Michael in Chercheham (Kirkham), with the priests and the lands to them pertaining ; also, that he, Godfrey, had added to the above gifts the township which is called Gerstan ; and he has conceded all in alms for ever, for his soul and his wife's, "and for our little son Achard," whom he has made a monk in the Church of St. Peter.

Amongst the witnesses to this document is Hugh, Earl of Chester *city*, the first occasion on which I recollect to have noticed that limitation ; the "Earl of Chester" usually is supposed to have held the County Palatine.

* *Cal. Inq. p. m. in Gregson's Fragments.*

(2) Also Earl Roger, who is called of Poictiers, gave to the Church of S. Peter and the monks of the same, the fishery of Terawalla for his soul and his wife's, and for the safety of the souls of his father and mother; and with that fishery the townships of Osciton and Pulton. Then follows this remarkable entry:—

“Whoso disturbeth these let him be accurst;”
and again,

“For these gifts, concessions, and confirmations there is rendered
“daily one mass for Earl Roger, his wife and children, and his father
“and mother, by the monks of S. Peter.”

The gifts were confirmed by the King, 2 Hen. III.

Of the gift of Earl Roger by name of Poictiers, Pulton and Osciton, and half the fishery of Thelewella, and the Church of Walton and Bischopham; of the gift of Earl Godfrey, Gerstan and the Church of Kirkham with their belongings; of the gift of the same Earl Roger, tithe of Newton; of the gift of Pagan de Villers, tithe of Laton and Wardebreck; of the gift of William, Constable of Chester, a third part of Thelewella, with all its belongings in wood, and field and water.*

Returning to the Coucher Book, from which are to be obtained several details relating to the former topography of Garston and Aigburth, it is to be observed that the purport of some of the documents given in the first volume is repeated in the fourth, but, if I remember rightly, at greater length. It is from the latter, therefore, that the following information has been gleaned; but in making the extracts I have not been careful in all cases to distinguish whether the grants were conveyances or leases only:—

Adam, lord of Gerstan, sold, demised, and confirmed to the abbot and monks of Stanlawe all his portion of land in Aikebergh with common pasture in the township of Gerstan; also the following in separate deeds:—1. Two bovates or oxgangs of land in Gerstan with

* Dugdale, vol. III, 523.

the appurtenances. 2. One bovat of land with the appurtenances, which Ralph the son of Multon held. 3. The third part of his field, which is below the field of Henry the clerk, that lies between Gerstan and Toxtun; that is, that part which is towards Gerstan, and extends to the road which leads to the sea, with common pasture, and all liberties and easements, except of his mill, to the said township of Gerstan belonging, in pure and perpetual alms, freely, fully and quietly as any alms can be given. 4. The land which Stephen held, that is, the croft and messuage which lies between land of the monks and (what is called in the Latin of the period) *terram Browne*, with common in the whole township. 5. That land which is called fferthing, that lies near the parson's yard, (*gardinum persone*) of the one part, and land of the monks of Stanlawe, which Adam the miller formerly held, with cummin, extending from the said land which is called fferthing to the vineyard and sedgy places, and to all other easements in going and returning beyond the manor, as far as Mersee, in pure and perpetual alms. 6. All the water which falls from his mill of Gerstan as far as the Mersee, and a plot of ground for the building of a tanning or fulling mill upon the said water, wherever they may see to be most expedient, between his said mill and the water of Mersee, and every kind of profit of the pool, and easements of pool water, from any water part, with all appurtenances and facilities of every kind upon the said water, within the said limits; also, that is, that there be not any impediment to his mill from their pool. 7. For the soul of King Henry and his ancestors, and for the souls of his own father and mother, of himself, and of his ancestors and posterity, to God and the Blessed Mary, and the abbot and monks of the *Locus Benedictus* of Stanlawe, in pure and perpetual alms, he grants a fishery in the township of Gerstan, which is called Lachegard. 8. To the cathecumens (*conversis*) of Wolueton, in pure and perpetual alms, for the employment of the cathecumens in the said house of conversion (*conversionum dicte domus conversantium*)* at the grange of Wolueton, all his right in the water between the abbey's fishery of the lake and the river's bank; also, that it be permitted them to make their accommodation there in whatever manner they best can; he has also given and conceded a place for a fishery wherever they may think most expedient, in all his bounds, between their said fishery of the lake and Otirpul, with all his right, which he has or may have between the aftermentioned fishery and the said place of Otirpul. The

* *Hic cathecuminus, noviter conversus et non baptizatus.* Vol. of Voc. Lib. Nat. Antiq., p. 214.

last grant or benefaction which appears to issue from this liberal giver is a lease of twenty-one butts of land, *culte et arate*, and three uncultivated, with common pasture and easements to the township of Gerstan belonging, for iiij marks of silver, which have been given him through the hands, rendering to him annually a pair of gloves, or one penny.

Adam of Gerstan, son of Adam of Gerstan, gave three half butts of land in his township of Gerstan, that is, in the field which is called Rochrerake (? Rockacre) extending in length to the dyke of Richard Lyverpul, as far as the water.

John, son of Adam of Gerstan, gave one and a half acre of land and a perch of waste, with appurtenances in Aikebergh; also one acre of land with appurtenances in Aikebergh; and half an acre of his land of waste in the territory of Aikebergh, videlicet, that which lies nearest the portions of the said religious men, in the said waste, where their house is situate, and extends from the Whitesiche towards the Mersee, to the road.

Hugh, son of Henry of Gerstan, gave two bovates of land with appurtenances in Gerstan.

Albreya, daughter of Henry of Gerstan, gave three bovates of land with the appurtenances in Gerstan.

Walter, son of William Rufus, quit-claim to all the land in Gerstan, which his mother Albreya sold to the abbot and monks of Stanlawe.

Symon, son of Henry of Gerstan, gave that portion of his land of waste, lying in two places in the territory of Gerstan, upon Ythendalemore, that is to say, of Aykebergh towards Mersee, as far as a certain seabank in the field of Gerstan, and another small piece which extends from Whitesiche towards Mersee as far as the before-mentioned way.

Alice, relict of Symon of Thornton (? the last mentioned person,) surrendered her interest in land in Gerstan.

Adam of Aynolnesdale (Ainsdale) gave, for the safety of his soul, twenty-four feet in length of his land, which is upon the pul of Gerstan, and is called Goldacher, and in breadth what it has, that is, that part which is extended towards the Mersee; also a bovat and half of land in Gerstan.

Robert of Crosseby, son of Adam of Haynolnesdale, surrendered his right to the land which his father "sold" to the abbey; *i.e.*, the bovat and half.

A certain Margery, daughter of Robert Ball, seems to have had an interest in the same land, as she surrendered land which Adam of

Aynolnesdale "gave" the abbey; and in another document she surrendered a bovate and half of land in Gerstan.

Adam, son of William of Gerstan, surrendered an annual penny rent for waste of the same; Hawis surrendered land in Gerstan; Hugh of Gerstan granted two bovates in land, and Hugh of Morton surrendered the same.

Syrith of Gerstan gave half a butt in cultivation, that is outside upon the water of Mersee, which is called Altun of the township of Gerstan.

William, son of Alan, gave all his share of waste in the territory of Gerstan upon Huthyndalemor, between Little Gresyndale and the sea-bank of the township of Gerstan, and certain land which extends directly from the water which is called Mersee, as far as the cliff towards the east part.

Alice, daughter of Alan, instead of land gives Henry the son of Gilbert the Little of Gerstan, thus affording another instance that serfdom existed in this country within the last 600 years.

Adam of Aykebergh exchanged eight acres of land in his part of the moor of Aykebergh lying nearest to the land which the said abbot and convent have in the same moor, for eight acres and a half of land which the said abbot and convent have given him in the field of Aykebergh, nearer from all parts of his residence, as is contained in the writing which he had from the said abbot, &c.

Adam of Tocstath surrendered his rights in all lands with the appurtenances which the same abbot and convent hold and have held, * * * within the limits of Aykebergh; and his son Roger executed a similar surrender.

Brother Roger, then prior of the Hospital of St. John of Chester, without the north-east gate, and the brothers serving God there, greeting in the Lord * * * (grant) to William of Bacford, son of Adam the parson, and his heirs, their land which they have by the gift of Lord Adam of Gerstan for his homage and service, that is, the messuage of Edric son of Auel, and the croft belonging to the same messuage, and a croft in which are five holts,* which hold to the field of the lord, and the moiety of one fishery which is between the fishery of Robert son of Thurstan, and the fishery of Thurbe.

* Holt, a wood. It is yet used for an orchard, or any place of trees, as a cherry-holt, an apple-holt. It is also said to mean a grove, or multitude of trees planted thickly together; a knoll covered with trees; a little wood.—*Prompt. Parv.* Albertus Way, vol. 1.

William, son of Adam, parson of Bacford, granted all the land, (in the grant from Adam of Gerstan specified as xvij butts,) in cultivation, which he held of Adam, Lord of Gerstan, which is called Alton, with all liberties, commons, and easements to the township of Gerstan belonging, without any reservation, for the rendering of four arrows, barbed, and with silver feathers, to Adam of Gerstan, for all service and coaction whatever, as is witnessed by the lord's grant to him.

Then follows the lord's confirmation.

Richard son of Hugh conveys to Richard son of Richard of Thornton land in Aykeberg, which is then conveyed to the Abbey of Stanlawe.

In patents of the Lord the King of taxation of the temporalities of the Monastery of Whalley, made 19th year of the reign of King Edward, son of King Henry, in the Diocese of Lichfield, appears,

Item. At the Grange of Aykebarwe half a carucate of land, worth by the year five shillings, and of the return of assize there of twelve shillings, and of *fieu stauri* there nine shillings and sevenpence per annum.

From the survey of the possessions of Whalley Abbey, apparently taken after the dissolution, given in the appendix to the Coucher Book, the following extract is made:—

Garston wthin

Ackberth.

The survey their—

Lawrence Ireland houldeth firmly all the messuage, lands, Rents, tenements, and also all pastures and leases, and meadows, fishing and fish garth wth the app^rnancess wthin the lordships or hamlets of Garstan and Ackberts aforesaid wthin y^e county of Lancaster from y^e feast of the annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary. Anno Rs H viij ^{xx} xxv unto y^e end and terme of xxxviij years then next ensuing, and to pay yearly sua 4^l.

In the *Val. Eccl.* 26 H. VIII, appear the following assessments:—

* Com' Cestr'				
Thelwall	Scit maner'	.....	6	0 0
Com' Lanc'				
Walton	Pens'	.....	1	0 0
† Garston	Redd' cert' terrarum et tenemen-			
	torum ibidem	.....	2	13 4
Aykeberth	Redd' diversum terr' ibidem	.....	1	6 8

* Dugdale, Vol. III, pp. 526-8.

+ *Ibid*, p. 649.

Comput. Minist. 33 H VIII.

Com' Lanc'				
* Norbeck, Biscoph ^m , Thelwall.	Diverse Firme	7	6	8
	Vendic' Bosc'		Nil	
	Perquis Civi'		Nil	
† Garston et Arkeberth.	Firmæ minutæ	4	0	0

These documents specify various localities ; the names of some have passed away, others abide ; some that remain are so changed, and the localities themselves are undergoing so much change, it may be difficult to identify them ; but with the assistance of the Tithe Commutation Survey and other documents I hope to succeed in some instances.

I think it may be assumed that the house recently known as the Old Hall of Aigburth, was the abbot's grange : it was taken down a few years since ; but I believe most of the out-buildings were left standing, added to and improved, and still exist on the north-western side of Aigburth Hall Lane. On the opposite side and nearly on the site of its predecessor stands the New Hall, the residence of Mr. Charles Chaloner ; Aigburth Hall Road being one of the numerous new roads which have been formed in Garston within the last forty or fifty years. The identity of this Old Hall with the Grange is placed pretty nearly beyond conjecture, by the fact that the field adjoining on the south-east is named the Little Grange Hey on the Tithe Commutation Survey ; the field which adjoins that on the south-east being the Great Grange Hey. I do not know the history of this Grange or Hall in the interval between the suppression of the Abbey of Whalley and its passage into the hands of Miss Dorothy Tarleton, of whom further mention will be made, except that it appears with other property to have been bestowed upon the hospital of the Savoy.† The adjacent hotel was built upon a portion of these lands, and thence originally designated *The Crown*.

On Yates' map an " Old Hall " is shewn between the high

* Dugdale, Vol. III, pp. 256-8. † *Ibid*, p. 649. ‡ *Post*, p. 174 and Map.

road and the river, which may have been the residence of Adam, lord of Gerstan, and of his descendants. Making due allowance for the deviation of the road, the site of this Old Hall seems to have been at the junction of Mersey Road, part of it being occupied by Briarley, the residence of Mr. Tinne, and part by the shops northward of Mersey Road.

Previously to the sale of the Aigburth property in 1821, all the roads in the district bounded by Toxteth, Outacre Lane, the present Dock Road, and the river, appear to have been merely occupation roads ; and that for the purpose of the sale the system of roads was re-arranged as was considered most advantageous, and as shewn on the sale plan. In order to secure a more direct access to Liverpool than the circuitous route by Mossley Hill, Mr. Tarleton, I am informed, purchased from Lord Sefton a strip of land, part of it waste, in extent about a quarter of an acre, for which he paid some £5000 or £6000 ! He erected a toll-bar, but it was stipulated that after the expiration of twenty years Lord Sefton might demand for his tenants in Toxteth the free use of the road, which demand being enforced led to the abolition of the toll-bar about twenty years since.

Adam of Garston's mill, it is probable, was the mill yet standing near the Church or Chapel of S. Michael ; the water from which, that is the tail goit, he granted to the abbey with a plot of ground for the erection of a tanning or fulling mill ; and it is supposed that this was the first mill erected in Lancashire for manufacturing purposes. But Adam guarded his grant by the provision that the goit from his own mill should not be impeded. The dam erected for the fulling-mill, (if indeed the dyke of Richard Liverpool would not render such a work unnecessary,) forming the lower mill pool or lake, the fishery of which was also conceded to the monks. Then he grants to the subordinate house in Woolton the fishery on the tail goit from the abbey mill ; with liberty to make the best

accommodation for themselves that the place allowed ; and also to establish a fishery anywhere they pleased in his domains, on the shore between the mill goit and Otterspool. I am not aware that there is any record of such a selection having been made, or of the site ; but the permission is confirmatory of the conjecture hazarded above as to the residence of the grantor.

The Rochrerake or Rockacre, that is, stone field, I conjecture occupied the site of the salt works, the residence of the managers of which is named Bank House, possibly in consequence of its proximity to Richard Liverpool's dyke or bank, or to other works of a like nature. It is now occupied by a ship-store dealer and sailrooms.

The half butt of land in cultivation which was called Altun of the township of Garston, lying outside upon the Mersey, and given by Syrith, I suppose to have been beyond Richard Liverpool's bank, or the other embankments. That there were works of this description appears from the grant of William, son of Alan ; who gave all his share of the waste lying between Little Grassendale and the sea-bank of the township upon Hythendalemore ; and other land between the Mersey on the west and the cliff on the east.

Hythendale is probably identical with the dingle between Cressington Park and the Dock road. The A. S. *Hythe* or *Hyth* signifies a port or haven ; and *Hyth* or *Yth*, what rises up, a tide, a wave, or flood. One word or the other we are familiar with in the names of Hythe, one of the cinque ports, Rotherhithe, Queen's-hithe, and Lambeth, or Lamb's-hithe. Its proximity to such an arm of the sea would naturally suggest to the early settlers that the dingle should be called Ythendale, or flood or tide valley : and it may be mentioned that the retention or omission of the aspirate seems to have been thought optional by the MS. writers. Ythendalemore would of course be the common bordering each side of the

dingle. The modern name is Humberdale; the fields on either side of the mouth of the dingle are called shore field and middle shore field; but the inner fields are named Nearer Humberdale and Further Humberdale, according to their position to Garston Village, or, originally, to the old town, or Altun, which I assume was in immediate proximity to the fish-yards. *Humber* is probably Celtic, and as *ber* signifies mouth, may be nearly a synonym; but I have not succeeded in ascertaining the meaning of the first syllable.* Instead of the name Altun signifying old town, it may be of Norse or Celtic origin and denote a place near water.

For the *Whitesiche* I am unable to find any nearer approximation than *White Edge*. The Nearer White Edge and the Farther White Edge are two fields on either side of the brook which flows through Hythendale or Humberdale, to use its present designation; they are bounded on the north-west by the Garston Old Road, the Nearer White Edge being opposite to the junction of Darby Road. At first sight it might be supposed that the word *whitesiche* is derived from A.S. *hwit* white, and *sich* a water course; but on reflection I am disposed to think it is a derivation from A. S. *wite*, signifying

* *Humber*: in addition to the above and the estuary between Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, this name appears in a document published in the *Codex Diplomaticus*, No. 1864, a description of the Boundaries of Homberdel, or Humberdale, for both orthographies are used. Kemble assigns some of the places named in this document to Huntingdonshire, but does not seem to identify any of them with the modern names. Humber also appears in Humbracomb, Hants, and Humborford, county unknown, Humbershoe, Beds, and Humberstone in Leicestershire, and also in Lincolnshire. As many of the natural features retain the names given by the Celtic predecessors of the Teutonic races, it is probable that the word under notice is an example, and that it is derived from the synonym for mouth or estuary; *inver* which appears frequently in the map of Scotland; or *aber* in that of Wales; or in Irish, which by some is supposed to retain the old phonetic orthography with most correctness, *inbhear*, *inbher* and *inbhir*. The initial vowel being changed for *o* or *u*, and the *n* for *m*, the phonetic resemblance to Humber is complete, except as to the aspirate. This derivation of the name is apposite for the Great Humber, and for Humberdale in Garston; how far it harmonizes with the local features of the other places mentioned above I am unable to say. If the foregoing conjecture be correct, and also the assumption that Ythendale is the Saxon name for the same place, we have here a singular illustration of the vitality of names, as the Celtic appellation after being supplanted by the invader is now restored.

affliction, calamity, evil, woe ; and that the brook may have been the scene of some of the numerous conflicts which doubtless took place between the Saxon invaders and the aboriginals ; or between the Saxons and the Danes : one of those conflicts which are unrecorded by history, yet are items in the cost of conquest and civilization. So of the numerous “whitefields,” which are usually supposed to have been wheat-fields or whitefields ; but I apprehend they are more likely to have been fields of strife or affliction, seeing that in many instances they occur on the sites of commons, brecks, or other unenclosed lands. No doubt the modern use of the name whitfield is derived from the well-known Calvinistic preacher.

The half acre of waste, the gift of John, the son of Adam, which is described as that which lies nearest the portion of the said religious men in the said waste, where their house is situate, and extends from the Whitesiche towards the Mersey to the road, it is probable forms part of the land immediately adjacent to the farm house at the corner of S. Mary’s Road.

From the name of Little Gresyndale we may assume there was a Great Grassendale also ; but I have not been able to discover the precise locality of either ; probably both are in the vicinity of Grassendale park ; the Nearer Grassendale and the Further Grassendale are shewn on the map lying opposite to the Hall—they are “Savoy lands.” The waste, in which William, son of Alan, surrendered his interest, may have occupied the site of what is now called Cressington Park ; a name, it may be observed, which has not the slightest topographical value. It is due to an error on the part of an ordnance surveyor, and was adopted by gentlemen interested in the property, who appear to have thought that any name would do. Had they been better informed upon the history of the township perhaps they would have thought that Hythendale Park, or even Hythendalemore, would have been quite as euphonious as well as much more appropriate and historical.

Among other changes which may be noted in the names of roads is that of Mossley Hill Road for Outacre, *i.e.*, Outfield Lane, as it appears on Yates' map; an alteration which is the less commendable as the name substituted was previously applied to the road between Greenbank and Elmswood Road.

The topography of Garston, and the history of the various families which have been connected with it, furnish a repertory of suitable names for future roads and streets, which will not be soon exhausted.

The land which is called fferthing I am also unable to identify. The word farthing or fourthing among other significations indicated a division of land; it is now obsolete. According to Carew, in his survey of Cornwall, thirty acres make a farthing land; nine farthings a Cornish acre; and four Cornish acres a knight's fee.*

We get a glimpse of the old distinction of secular and regular clergy in the mention of William, the son of Adam, parson of Backford; Adam manifestly being one of those who did not follow the vocation of celibacy; and we have a trait of priestly arrogance when the clergyman is styled *the* parson of his parish, as though he were the only *person* resident therein, and that all others were *people*.

The Clif may be the abrupt descent by the pool of Garston; A. S. *clif*, signifying a deep descent, as well as a rock or cliff.

We have another trace of the brethren of Whalley in the Monk's meadow at the corner of Garston Old Road and Church Road, opposite to the end of Speke Road, and close to the lower Mill-dam; and now occupied in part by the fork of the passenger and goods lines of the Railway, and by the junction of St. Mary's Road. Immediately contiguous were the Tithebarn and Garston Old Hall, and the Cross stood on the south-western side of the Old road. Perhaps, as it was so

* Latham's Todd's Johnson's Dict.

near the dam, this is the land of the monks of Stanlawe, which Adam the miller formerly held.

It is worthy of remark, that so recently as Yates' survey, there was not any road to the margin of the river in the whole distance between the then boundary of the borough of Liverpool, Townend Lane, now Parliament Street, and what is now called Dock Road in Garston, more than four and a half miles; and at present there is only one public road (except the foot-path through Southwood Road) between Wellington Road and Dock Road, a distance of nearly four miles, as the crow flies. This no doubt is a consequence of the afforesting of Toxteth.

The following is from Mr. Eyes' survey, anno 1828, except where otherwise noted.*

The lands abutting the river are principally composed of steep clay banks, and for the last thirty years have been subject to great injury from the washing of the tide. Within this period large quantities have been destroyed, and are continually being similarly acted upon.

The line of low water does not alter materially. In the year 1792 the manor of Garston was purchased by the late Mr. Blackburne, who in the same year erected, under the authority of Parliament, a dock and saltworks, partly upon the strand. Subsequently, Mr. Blackburne claiming the exclusive right of strand, (although this was not generally acknowledged,) sold to various parties the fronts of their respective properties. Courts were formerly held, but have been for some years discontinued.

Thomas Hawkes, Esq., M.P., is the representative of the late Mr. Blackburne.

In the Book of Reference Mr. Eyes gives the following

* MS. copy, in the possession of the writer, of Eyes' survey of the Port of Liverpool.

particulars of the property fronting the strand, commencing at the boundary of Speke township :—

Brook and road dividing township.

Thomas Hawkes, Esq. Plantation.

Thomas Hawkes, Esq. Land.

Thomas Hawkes, Esq. Cottages.

Road.

Thomas Hawkes, Esq. Cottages and Land.

This land (all the above) is said to have lost about fifteen yards in width along its whole front in about twenty-five years.

John Blackburne & Co. Saltworks.

The quay, piers, docks, and other works connected with the salt works erected on the strand, and commenced upon about the year 1793. See Act of Parliament, 33rd Geo. III.

Creek or Pool.

Thomas Hawkes, Esq. Cottages and Land.

A considerable portion of strand was enclosed here before the year 1792, and one part was formerly the vitriol works of Mr. Williams.

The Executors of the late William Hope, Esq. Land.

This land is open to the shore, and suffers much from the effect of tide; about fifteen yards in width is supposed to have been destroyed within the last twenty years. Mr. Hope's executors state the strand was purchased long before the late Mr. Blackburne became possessed of the manor, and claim to low water mark.

John Woolwright. Land.

This land having no protection from the tide suffers greatly.

The strand in front purchased by Mr. W.

Messrs. T. F. Bennett, Thos. Bouch, Alfred Waterhouse,
William Smith and James Mawdsley. Land.

Part of the front of this land was protected from the tide ten or twelve years ago by a wall built partly on the strand, which has since been thrown down, and the land is encroached upon ten or fifteen yards in width for nearly the whole front. The strand belongs to these gentlemen.

Mr. Thomas Stephenson. Land.

The front of this land has no protection against the tide, which is making great inroads upon it.

Nicholas Salisbury. Land.

Formerly enclosed by a wall of stone taken from the beach, but this is now thrown down, and a considerable portion of the land destroyed. Mr. S. purchased the strand to low water mark.

John Moss, Esq. Dwelling-houses in the occupation of Mr. Henry Moss and Dr. Formby, Land, Gardens, Oil Mill and Plantations to his own house, "Otterspool."

Mr. Moss owns the strand in front of these properties, by purchase from Mr. Blackburne, the whole of which is protected from the effects of the tide by a stone-paved slope or sheeting, built partly about the line of high water, except about the mouth of the pool, where portions of the strand have been taken in.

The following information is extracted from the note books used by Mr. Eyes in his survey:—

25th July, 1828.—Mr. Moss of Otterspool says, in March, 1816, he was prepared to go to trial with Mr. Blackburne, who claims to be lord of the manor of Garston, and owner of the strand or shore of the river Mersey; but which Mr. Moss and others owning property on the river disputed; that on the opinion of the late Mr. Evans, then Vice-Chancellor, who was staying in the house of Mr. Moss, and examined into all the evidence adduced, the dispute was compromised; and the several parties afterwards agreed with Mr. Blackburne to purchase his rights to the strand between high and low water marks, being satisfied his title to it was not to be resisted. Mr. Moss paid £500 for the strand. In the survey of 1771, (of Mr. Tarleton's property by John Eyes,) the mouth of Otterspool opened to the river.* The mill supposed to be

* A copy of this map has been lent by Mr. Tinne to the Local Board of Garston, and is deposited in the Public Offices; but so far from Otterspool being open to the river, it appears to me to be closed, as now. The house of Otterspool stands chiefly in Toxteth, and was formerly called the "Lower Lodge," the "Higher Lodge" being the old house at the eastern entrance of Prince's Park.

erected *circa* December, 1779, at a cost of £2439 12s. 7d., including cottages for workmen, by Mr. Alexander, afterwards Alexander and Tate. The *amount* stated on the authority of a note from Mr. T. to E. E.

The general lines of *low* water have undergone little change within the memory of the oldest fisherman now living. The lands adjoining the shore are continually washing away, and more so within the last twenty-five years than formerly. Edward Miller of Garston, fisherman, aged 68, has known the shore all his life, and he and his father have rented the fishyards during the time Mr. Blackburne has been lord of the manor. He recollects Caryl Appleton, James Potter, Nathan Miles, and others, old men, now dead (1828), who had the fishyards on the shore, and paid rent to Lady Beauclerk for them ; says all persons paid for shingle and gravel taken from the shore ; only he and William Cook have any fishyards in Garston ; that very few fish are taken in consequence of the destruction by dye-water, &c., from Manchester, &c. The L. W. mark is partly as it has always been ; but the banks have very much washed away, particularly within the last twenty or twenty-five years. A bank is forming on the rocks at the saltworks.

The Duchy of Lancaster has several (pieces of) detached land in the Township, and at that part called Aigburth. About the year 1788 Mr. Richard Kent of Liverpool purchased the manor of Garston from the Corporation, per Messrs. Ashton and Gerrard, for £2200.

Messrs. Peter Baker and John Dawson (who) held the manor of Garston, and also certain leasehold lands at Garston, by letters patent from the crown for a term of years, did, in the lifetime of Richard Kent, contract to sell the same to Richard Gerrard and James Gerrard ; and the same Richard Kent afterwards contracted to purchase the same premises from the said Richard and James Gerrard, which premises

Richard Kent by his will expressed to have been purchased from Messrs. Ashton and Gerrard ; and after the death of the said Richard Kent, they, the said Baker and Dawson, by indenture 3rd and 4th January, 1791, by direction of Richard and James Gerrard, for £2200, convey the said manor of Garston, and also the said leasehold premises, to E. Kent, T. Naylor, and Richard Wood, as trustees of the will of the said Richard Kent.

2nd February, 1793.—The manor of Garston, with the leasehold *purchased* by Mr. John Blackburne, who leased that part of the shore on which the saltworks are erected to Mr. Patten and Mr. Hornby, trustees under the will of John Blackburne of Orford. See Mr. Blackburne's Act to change the site of the Saltworks, 33 Geo. III, 1793.

Leasehold lands in Garston called "Savoy lands," granted to Topham Beauclerk for twenty and a half years, commencing 22nd May, 1786, under letters patent dated 31st May, 1776, shall be vested in the Executors of Richard Kent, from and after the 1st June, 1793, for the remainder of the term of twenty and a half years ; lease expired 1806.

Note. A road to communicate with the Saltworks from Whindown Lane, not less than thirty feet wide on the strand, for the use of the public.

Savoy Lands. 10th August, 1827.—Certain lands in Garston, leased by the Crown to Mr. Blackburne for eighteen years three hundred and twenty-two days, at the annual rent of £76. See Commissioners' Reports on Woods and Forests, 1812. (?)

In 1793 there were fishyards on the rocks where the saltworks now are ; previously to that date Mr. Williams had erected vitriol works on the strand. *Note.* The north side of the pool is called waste.

Henry Carter of Garston (overseer) has a plan of houses in Garston, with an account of manorial claims, &c.

The following inclosures and embankments have taken place:—In the year 1780, Messrs. Tate, Alexander and Wilson inclosed a part of the strand at the mouth of Otterspool (now the property of Mr. Moss), and erected thereon a snuff mill, with its appurtenances; in the year 1816, Mr. Moss purchased all the lord of the manor's interest in the strand in front of his property there, and made some further embankments; subsequently a few other individuals (Miss Parr, Mr. Salisbury, Mr. Richard and Mr. Arnold Harrison), purchased the interest of the lord of the manor to the strand opposite to their properties, and have embanked the same against the tide (1828.)

The general line of tide mark is not subject to any great deviation now, except with the continual wasting of the steep clay banks which abut the river; the strand is in the same state it has been in for a great many years (1839).

Mr. Eyes, it will be perceived, was unable to clear up part of the history of the ownership of the manor, and of parts of the township; through the kindness of various gentlemen, I have been enabled to supply some of the omissions.*

In 1736, after the demise, without sons, of her six uncles, on whom and their heirs male the estates had been entailed by her father, Mary, daughter and heiress-at-law of Thomas Norris, late of Speke Hall, being then thirty-six years of age, contracted marriage with Lord Sidney Beauclerk, of the St. Albans family. Being seized of the manor or lordship of Garston, and divers messuages, lands and hereditaments there and in other places, which had been enjoyed by her ancestors for many generations, Miss Norris, with the consent of her intended husband, did vest that property in Sir Thomas Aston, Bart., and Lord Chief Justice Reeve, in trust for her heirs.

* My acknowledgments are especially due to Rev. G. Sandbach, Messrs. Lightbody, Macintyre, Sharman, Tinne, Watts, and Whitley and Maddock.

Lord Sidney Beauclerk is described as fifth son of the first Duke of St. Albans, and a man of bad character. He was Vice-Chamberlain in 1742. Sir C. H. Williams calls him "worthless Sydney." He was notorious for panting after the fortunes of the old and childless. Being very handsome, he had almost persuaded Lady Betty Germaine, in her old age, to marry him, but she was dissuaded by the Duke of Dorset and her relations. He failed also in obtaining the fortune of Sir Thomas Reeve, C.J.C.P., whom he used to attend on circuit with a view of ingratiating himself. At length he induced Mr. Topham of Windsor to leave his estate to him. He died in 1744, leaving one son, Topham Beauclerk, Esq.*

We can thus conjecture why Sir Thomas Reeve was one of the trustees to the marriage settlement; the other trustee, Sir Thomas Aston, was probably the uncle of Miss Norris, and a trustee of the marriage settlement of her mother, Magdalen, second daughter of Sir Willoughby Aston, Bart. In addition to the two Astons, the other trustees to the latter settlement were Catherine Norris, widow, mother of the bridegroom, Thomas Norris; Edward Norris, M.D., his brother; Edmund Jodrell, Esq.; and John Hardware, Esq.

Outliving her husband, Lady Mary Beauclerk, by will dated 12th June, 1766, bequeathed the manor of Garston, and manors messuages, farms, tenements and hereditaments in Garston, Hale, Aigburth, or any other place in the county of Lancaster, to Ralph Leycester of Toft, and Henry Wright of Mobberley, both in the county of Chester, in trust for her only child Topham Beauclerk and his heirs.

In December, 1768, Beauclerk contracted marriage with Lady Diana Spencer of the Marlborough family,† and in the

* Lord Dover's *Notes on Hor. Walpole's Letters to Mann*, vol. I, p. 207, ed. 1833. *The Norris Papers*, (Chetham Society), by Thomas Heywood, Esq., F.S.A., p. 15. For further information respecting the Beauclerks *vide* the Walpole correspondence *passim*.

† She had been divorced from Lord Bolingbroke through an intrigue with Mr. Beauclerk.

settlement vested the manor of Garston and all his property in Great Britain in Lord Charles Spencer, brother to his bride, and John Turton, M.D.

Mary Norris succeeded to estates which probably were seriously encumbered by her great grandfather, Sir William Norris, K.B. (1603), who was a spendthrift. He was nephew of the Sir William who fell unmarried at Musselburgh ; and grandfather of Sir William Norris, Bart., ambassador to Aurengzebe, 1698-1702, the only baronet in the family ; and whose sword of state forms part of the civic regalia, so-called, in Liverpool. Neither Lord Sidney Beauclerk nor his son appears to have nursed the estates, and consequently, after being deeply mortgaged to Fysh Coppinger and others, they were finally dismembered and sold in 1775 and subsequent years. Topham Beauclerk was one of the literary circle which included Johnson and Reynolds ; the latter painted his wife's portrait. Beauclerk was one of the original members of the Literary Club, and died in 1780.*

In February, 1779, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of Liverpool, as the Corporation was then styled, purchased the manorial rights of Garston, with the intention, it is said, of making some regulation respecting the fisheries in the Mersey. Their intentions, however, like some of those avowed by their successors, appear to have been speedily abandoned : in April of the following year they disposed of the manor to Peter Baker and John Dawson in equal moieties, in fee, under certain provisoes and restrictions, and with certain reservations, all of which were surrendered February, 1785.

In January, 1791, Baker and Dawson conveyed their undivided moieties to Elizabeth Kent, widow, Thomas Naylor and Richard Wood, trustees and executors of the will of Richard Kent deceased, upon the trusts and for the purposes

* Croker's *Boswell*, app., vol. 1.

mentioned respecting the same in Kent's will : the contract to sell having been entered into with Kent himself.

Elizabeth daughter of Kent had been married to Lord Henry Murray, a member of the Athol family ; and under deed dated February, 1793, Murray and John Blackburne of Liverpool joined in obtaining, at the sole expense of the latter, an Act of Parliament 33 George III, for destroying the entail under the provisions of Kent's will, and enabling his trustees and executors to dispose of the Garston estate ; and for other purposes. The act, *inter alia*, recites that Kent directed his executors, after having paid for the manor of Garston, purchased of Ashton Gerard* for £2,200, to assign it to Lord Henry Murray and his son and his heirs : that Baker and Dawson being seized in fee of the manor, and possessing also certain leasehold land in Garston, held by letters patent of the Crown for a term of years, did sell the same to R. & J. Gerrard (representatives of A. Gerrard), and they to Kent ; and in consideration of £2,200 did convey the same to the trustees of Kent's will : that Thomas Williams being seized in fee of a piece of waste land or shore of the river Mersey, on the south side of the gut or sluice running from the Mill dale, being 100 yards in length, and reaching down to low water mark, and adjoining the said manor, did convey the same, January, 1793, to Kent's trustees : that Lord Henry Murray leaving Liverpool and breaking the connection between his residence and Garston, and that the yearly income from the manor of the freehold of Garston with the wastes, chief rents, houses and lands, &c., including the said piece of waste land or shore, amounted to only £10 9s. 1d., and the yearly income from the leasehold premises to £56 1s., the unexpired term being fourteen years, and that the parties interested under Kent's will were willing to sell the whole premises for £2,200 ; agreement for purchase

* Probably a clerical error for Ashton and Gerrard. See subsequently, p. 176.

by John Blackburne; proposal by Blackburne to lease part of the manor to the Trustees of the Liverpool Salt Works: and it was enacted—

1. That the site of the Liverpool works be sold.
2. Out of proceeds that Blackburne be paid £250 on giving lease of shore, and balance in erecting works, &c.
- 3 and 4. Receipts of trustees to be a good discharge.
5. The manor vested in Trustees discharged of Kent's trusts, *i.e.*, the manor and its rights, and the chief rents of £6 5s. 11d., issuing from estates of inheritance; all chiefs and quits, [excepting Garston chapel and its presentation, the chapel yard and appurtenances; the mill dale containing 5 acres 1 rood (customary measure), and the several mill pools, the ground of the mill as described; also a piece of land adjoining mill dale, and extending from the cut or sluice running through the same to the shore on the north and south sides thereof one hundred yards to low water mark; and to P. Baker the right of carting gravel &c. to his house and grounds, Mosley Hill], the manors &c. purchased by the Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of Liverpool from Beauclerk: two closes called Humber Dale and Bettick (? bittock, a small piece), 1 acre 1 rood, customary measure; house belonging to Cuthbert Bisbrown, since purchased by the Mayor &c., manor as above; shore running from Mill Dale; and other premises comprised in letters patent dated 31st May, 1776, and granted to Beauclerk for twenty and a half years, from 22nd May, 1786.

The conveyance under this act appears not to have been completed until June, 1799, by Naylor and Wood the surviving trustees and executors of Kent.

In addition, Mr. Blackburne, December, 1798, purchased from Joseph Caton then of Liverpool, theretofore of Garston, mariner, for £2,500, a farm which Caton had bought for £1,600 in February, 1779, containing 25 acres 1 rood 15 poles, of

8 yards to the rod or pole, the Long Meadow, Chapel Croft, Great Man Acre, Little Man Acre, Large Windows (? Whin-down), Little Windows, Further Windows, Great Bank Hey and Little Hey.

In September, 1765, three closes, including Within Hey and Within Croft, comprising thirteen acres, formerly in possession of Edward Ellison of Rainford, yeoman, and Cook's Croft containing two acres, all large measure, were conveyed to two persons named Jackson and Newhouse, by whom they were conveyed to Blackburne in 1798.

In 1820 John Blackburne by his will devised and appointed Wavertree Hall and the lands thereto, copyhold of inheritance; the manor of Garston; buildings, land and colliery in Anderton, county Chester, and in Parr; and all his real estate in Liverpool and elsewhere to his wife Eleanor, his son-in-law, Thomas Hawkes of Himley, county Stafford, and his cousin, Rev. Thomas Blackburne, Warden of Manchester, in trust, after paying certain bequests, for his daughter Alice Anna, wife of Thomas Hawkes, with remainder to Hawkes if she should not otherwise dispose of the property, in trust for the children of his daughter, in default of children to his brother Thomas Blackburne. In 1823 Isaac Blackburne of Warrington was substituted for Rev. Thos. Blackburne, deceased. In 1825 Alexander Samuel Duff of Clifton, Somerset, was appointed joint executor. Under this will Mrs. Hawkes had power of absolute disposal reserved to her, which she exercised in 1823, and conveyed the property to Joseph Redish of Liverpool, accountant, for the purpose of sale by public auction or private treaty; and eventually the principal part of the property, with the manorial rights, were sold to the Garston Land Company, which comprised some of the most influential gentlemen connected with the St. Helens Canal and Railway Company. Nevertheless I believe that the Duchy has recently advanced a claim to the manorial rights.

Richard Kent appears to have been an enterprising merchant in Liverpool. It is recorded that the ship *Kent*, of 1100 tons, was launched from Mr. Baker's yard in April, 1773, the largest merchantman then built in the North of England; and in March, 1775, the ship *William*, the first Greenlandman launched here, from Mr. Sutton's yard for Mr. R. Kent. He resided in Duke Street, and I believe his name was given to Kent Street, probably in 1773, when we are told the streets in the town were named and the houses numbered for the first time, by order of the Vestry; there were then 230 squares, streets, alleys, &c., 412 houses untenanted, and the poors' rate 2s. 2d. in the £.* In 1774 Mr. Kent's name appears among the gentlemen elected members of the then Chamber of Commerce.†

The price paid by the Corporation of Liverpool for their purchase was £1950, and Baker and Dawson paid £2387 in equal moieties.

Peter Baker was a shipbuilder, from whose yard were launched not only the *Kent*, but other vessels both naval and mercantile. John Dawson, subsequently his partner, had been captain of the privateer *Mentor*, 28 guns, belonging to Baker & Co., which, in October, 1778, made prize of the French East Indiaman, *Carnatic*, valued at £135,000.‡ Amongst other spoil a box of diamonds was discovered on board, to the no small satisfaction of the Captain. Baker was Dawson's father-in-law, and very likely a partner in the privateering adventure, as afterwards in the shipyard, and in the manor of Garston, which may have formed a temporary investment for part of the proceeds of the prize. Mossley Hill House was erected out of the same proceeds, and for some time bore the derisive pseudonym of "Carnatic Hall."

The Baker-Dawson, whose name appears on Bennison's map, was the son of Captain Dawson.

* *Gore's Annals.*

† *Baines' Liverpool*, p. 444.

‡ *Gore's Annals.* *Baines*, p. 456.

As one of the customary honours conferred on the possessors of wealth, Mr. Baker was of course appointed a Justice of the Peace ; and it is related that a thief, having been caught in the act of purloining some blankets belonging to a neighbouring farmer, was brought before his Worship. It does not appear that his legal learning was very profound, or that he had supplied himself with a substitute in a clerk ; so turning over a volume, *Burns' Justice*, he observed that he could not find any law for blankets ! “ But meastur,” said Hodge indignantly, “ be’ant there naa laa for staling a mon’s guds ? ” On this hint it appears the blindness of justice disappeared, and the culprit was appropriately disposed of, perhaps, as he gazed on the privateer’s-man magistrate, feeling with Captain Macheath—

“ Since laws were made for every degree,
To curb vice in others as well as in me,
I wonder there’s not better company
On Tyburn tree.”

Baker, if my conjecture is correct, was elected Mayor 1795, and died in office February 7th, 1796 ; he had been Bailiff in 1785.

In April, 1814, John Blackburne, who is then described as late of Liverpool, more late of Garston, then of Hawford Hall, county Worcester, conveyed to Arnold Harrison,

The strand in front of the land belonging to Ashton Byrom, lately contracted to be sold by Byrom to Harrison, with all and singular the fisheries, rights, privileges, franchises, immunities, advantages and appurtenances thereto ; the sole and exclusive right of collecting sea tang and sea weed, slutch, shilly, sand and gravel off the said shore ; and of putting up and erecting fish yards or fish garths, for the purpose of taking fish and fry in the said river, and of using any other engine or contrivance for that purpose which he, Blackburne, was then entitled to use ; and all other the manorial rights which he, Blackburne, had over the said piece of land and shore as fully and effectually, &c.

John Blackburne of Liverpool, probably the same who was

one of the Bailiffs 1755, and Mayor 1760, was the grandfather of John Blackburne of Orford or Hawford, and, I believe, a scion of the family of Hale. There appears to have been two Acts of Parliament required for the removal of the saltworks from Liverpool to Garston, but I have not been able to meet with a copy of either. The tenor of one of these Acts has been given above (p. 168.) The other, 33 Geo. III, cap. 33, repeals so much of 1 Anne, cap. 21, as prohibits the refining of Rocksalt, &c., except within ten miles of the pits from where taken. With respect to the works at Garston, power is given to erect saltpans, &c., there; as soon as new salt works shall be begun to be used the works in Liverpool to be discontinued. A public Act. The site of the saltworks in Liverpool was advertised for sale by auction, 1st May, 1798, in the *Star and Garter*, Paradise Street; and that of the Vitriol Works in Garston on 21st October, 1799,* in the *Globe Tavern*, John Street, both sales at six p.m. The first advertisement sets forth “the works being now removed “to Garston.”

I suppose that John Blackburne, the younger, who was appointed one of the undertakers for the management of the Sankey Brook navigation in 1757, was subsequently the purchaser of the manor of Garston.

The lands held by Topham Beauclerk, under Letters Patent, were commonly called or known as the “Savoy Lands,” and consisted of the following plots:—

The Abbott's Yard, $\frac{1}{2}$ rood, Garston.

Aigburth Hey, 2 acres, Aigburth.

The Croft by the Tythebarn, 1 acre, Garston.

The Yard (? called also the Grange Heys), 3 acres, Aigburth.

* After describing the works, and their appurtenances, the advertisement proceeds:—With an excellent house, lately built, and a good garden, suitable for the Manager or Director, and upwards of 5A. of good land of large measure, with a great number of beautiful oak and other trees, the whole forming that beautiful spot, well known as Garston Mill dale.—*Gore's General Advertiser*, September, 1799.

Crawle Croft, 3 roods, Garston.

Whyndore (? Whin down), 2 acres, Garston.

Benty Hey, 2 acres, Aigburth.

One close, 1 acre, Aigburth.

Benty Hey, $1\frac{3}{4}$ acre, Garston.

Six Acres (2 closes), 6 acres, Aigburth, and abutting upon the river Mersey, sometime parcel of the dissolved abbey of Whalley, and late parcel of the possessions of the late dissolved hospital of the Savoy.

I have not been able to learn when and why the freehold was alienated. The areas, I presume, are the large measure. Some of the lots mentioned are represented in the accompanying map, taken from a survey, undated, but subsequent to John Tarleton's succession, among the abstracts of title of the Garston Land Company, in the custody of Messrs. Whitley and Maddock.

Some doubt having been raised as to whether the conveyance of April, 1780, operated as a good and effectual conveyance in law, the Corporation of Liverpool, in April, 1833, did grant, alien, enfeoff and confirm to Harrison the fee simple of and in the strand, with all the appurtenant manorial rights.

In September, 1835, Mr. Harrison conveyed his interest in the strand, and his share of the manorial rights, to Thomas Haines Banning, M.D., and William Banning, both of Liverpool, and Rev. Benjamin Banning, of Croft within Winwick, executors and trustees under the will of Thomas Banning, deceased, sometime Postmaster of Liverpool.

In December, 1838, the Bannings executed a conveyance of the strand to John Woolwright, silk mercer, of Liverpool, who paid £1000. The area is not given; but I may mention, by the way, that in December, 1830, Mr. Vyner paid £300 for 54 acres $4\frac{1}{2}$ perches lying between high and low water, in a creek in the river Mersey called Wallasey Pool.*

On the same day, 1838, the Bannings also conveyed to

* Appendix eighth Report H. M. Commissioners Woods, Forests, &c., 1831.

Woolwright, for £6000, a parcel of land, 20a. 2r. 17p. statute, which was bounded on the west by the strand above-mentioned, and is described in one of the earlier abstracts as

All that messuage &c. with the appurtenances in Aigburth within Garston, and the several closes of land known by the names of the Plumb Meadows, Garden Croft and lane, the Croft, the Under Croft and garden, and the Lower Slutch Croft, containing 12 acres 2 roods 14 poles, large measure; and also all that messuage &c., and the closes known as the Two Green Heys, the Meadow and the old Sea Hey, containing 7 acres 1 rood 11 poles, of the same measure; and also those two closes called Williams Fields, containing 1 acre 3 roods 4 poles,*

which had been conveyed, February, 1775, to Thomas Hatton, of Warrington, chapman; from whom they passed to his daughter Alice, wife of one Edward Wilson. Mrs. Wilson had several children; one of her daughters was married to John Clarke, of Ashfield, West Derby, who was Mayor in 1809. From Mrs. Wilson's representatives the property passed, in January, 1808, to Ashton Byrom, of Liverpool, merchant, and to William Ewart, of Liverpool, merchant, in trust for A. B., "and to prevent any present or future wife from being dowable out of the said hereditaments."

In November, 1814, Byrom conveyed his interest to Arnold Harrison; and in September, 1835, Harrison conveyed to the Bannings the parcels above mentioned, retaining the remainder.

Among other property which passed to John Blackburne were the buildings and lands called Carter's and the Croft, with parcels thereunto belonging, containing in the whole 30a. 1r. 27p. large measure; purchased from Beauclerk for £2872, by William Bramwell of Liverpool, merchant, who went out to the West Indies, where he was a navy contractor, and died in Kingston, Jamaica. He seems in anticipation to have executed a conveyance to Arthur Heywood the elder, Richard Heywood, and Arthur Heywood the younger, of

* Doubt is thrown in the abstract on the correctness of these measurements, and they are probably very erroneous.

Liverpool, bankers, to whom he was under pecuniary obligations ; but legal difficulties having arisen his widow resumed the estates, paying therefor to the Heywoods £3262 17s., out of which they were to satisfy the heir-at-law and nephew with £315. In October, 1797, Mrs. Bramwell conveyed to Blackburne for £3473 6s., who in November, 1816, conveyed to John Leigh of Liverpool, gentleman, and Roger Wright Hawkes of Dudley, county Worcester, trustees of the marriage settlement of Alice Anna Hawkes, in trust for sale. This land lay to the north of the pool ; the names of the several fields confirm my conjecture that this was the situation of the waste referred to in the Whalley Coucher Book. There are four fields bearing the name of Oulton Moor, perhaps derived from the five holts* before-mentioned ; others called dales, a term which here, as in Ainsdale, seems to signify divisions or allotments, rather than dingle or valley, a meaning which seems to be preserved in the phrase, a deal of cards, from A.S. *dael*. Probably the name of the Grassendales has a similar origin ; and perhaps Kirkdale, in the parish of Walton, was an allotment to the Church, and so designated as the Church allotment of land ; I am not aware that there is any record of a church there in early times ; it may have been Earl Godfrey's " township." In the conveyance to Bramwell the roads across the field or ground near Garston Dingle, called the mill dale, are extinguished. The name Grassendale appears to indicate *grazing land* ; and suggests that the word *grazing*, and its congeners *graze*, *grazier*, &c., are derivatives from *grass* rather than from the French *razer*, which is the root assigned in the dictionaries.

Garston Mills also passed to Blackburne for £5050 in June, 1792 : they were purchased in 1777 from Beauclerk by John Dunbabin of Liverpool, stationer, for £2328 ; his conveyance included the water corn mills, drying kilns, ware-

* p. 152.

houses and other buildings, the mill gear, toll or mulcture of the mills, the mill dams, Dickenson's house and Stock's croft, in all about 3a. 12p.; and the mill dale, containing 26a. 3r. In 1789 the mill property, without the mill dale, was sold to Anthony Bourbelon de Bonnieul for £3150. The mill dale was sold by Dunbabin in 1783 to Nicholas Ashton (? of Woolton) and James Gerrard, M.D., of Liverpool, for £700. It is described as lying on the north and south sides of the cut or sluice running through the mill dale, and with this were sold two other pieces of waste. Kent purchased Ashton's moiety, June, 1789, and Gerrard's, March, 1790. In 1791 Baker and Dawson, as lords of the manor, joined Kent's representatives in a conveyance of the fee simple of the waste to Thomas Williams, of Llandaw, Anglesey, Esq., whose executors and heirs-at-law conveyed to Blackburne, September, 1816.

In February, 1775, Topham Beauclerk, then of Adelphi Building in the Strand, conveyed to Thomas Banner, of Liverpool, innkeeper,

All that messuage &c. and the several closes &c. lately commonly known as Bank Hey, the Long Hey, the Croft, the Meadow, the Great Green Hey, the Gorsey Hey, Nearer Gorsey Hey and the Green Heys, containing in the whole 10a. 3r. 25p., of the large measure of eight yards to the pole.

This property was bequeathed by Banner to his son-in-law, John Keay, of Liverpool, gentleman, and his friend, Nicholas Crooke, of Liverpool, tea dealer, in trust for his son Samuel Banner, with instructions to sell; and accordingly in August, 1812, they did convey it to William Hope.

The schedule accompanying Banner's title enumerates the following among other deeds, showing that this part of the Garston estate was vested in the Norris family in 1652, and probably the whole of their Garston estate belonged to them at that time.

Indenture tripartite 28th June, 1652, between Thomas Norris, of

the first part, William Garway, John Garway, John Fleetwood and Roger Bradshaw, Esquires, of the second part, and James Winstanley and William Armitage, of the third part.

The tenor of this instrument is not given ; most probably it was the settlement contingent on the marriage of Thomas Norris, grandfather of Lady Beauclerk, with Katherine Garway.

Indenture dated 1st July, 1692, between Thomas Norris, Esquire, son and heir of Thomas Norris by Katherine his wife, of the first part, Edward Fleetwood and Lawrence Rawsthorne, Esquires, of the second part, William Berry and Richard Houghton, gentlemen, of the third part ;

Articles of Agreement indented 1st November, 1695, between Sir Willoughby Aston, Bart., of the one part, and Thomas Norris, of the other part ;

Indentures of Lease and Release, being tripartite, and made 25th and 26th December, 1695, between the said Thomas Norris, of the first part, Sir Roger Bradshaw, Bart., Sir John Crew, Knight, of the second part, and Sir Willoughby Aston, Bart., Thomas Aston, Esquire, Katherine Norris, widow, mother of the said Thomas Norris, Edward Norris, doctor in physic, Edmund Jodrell and John Hardware, Esquires, of the other part.

This doubtless was the settlement on the marriage of Thomas Norris with Magdalen Aston, daughter of Sir Willoughby Aston.

In January, 1777, Topham Beauclerk sold to Rev. Joseph Bragg, sometime of Mosley Vale, Wavertree, a portion of his estate in Garston, consisting of

Part of High Field, part of Lane High Field, part of Gorsey Hey, the Intack, the Pease Hey, and the Great Bank Hey ; also part of same High Field, and part of Further High Field, by common estimation 14a. 35p. "of the large measure there used," (*i.e.* eight yards to the rod.)

Also Edging Dale and Further Edging Dale, the Little Bank Hey, the Bank Edging Dale, the Sluch Edging Dale, the Edging Dale, the Further High Field, part of Gorsey Hey, part of the High Field, the Middle High Field, the Little High Field, and the High Field. Also Hedging Dale, by common estimation 19a. 2r. 20p. large measure.

Also the Further Humber Dale, the Near Humber Dale, and the Skaith.* Also the Selik,† the Little Selik, the Further Humber Dale, and the Near Humber Dale. Also the Further Humber Dale, the Nearer Humber Dale, and the Little Humber Dale.

Also the Bittocks, the Selik, the Little Skaith, the Little Humber Dale, the Humber Dale, the Field Humber Dale, and the Nearer Humber Dale, by common estimation 19a. 4p. of the large measure ; which said premises were bounded on the north by land and premises purchased by Thomas Banner, on the south by other land of the said Topham Beauclerk, on the east by premises purchased by — Wilson, on the west by the river Mersey.

In 1805 Joseph Bragg, then of Mosley Vale, bequeathed to his nephew, Joshua Lucock, of Lorton Hall, Cumberland, *inter alia*, all his property in Cumberland and Lancaster, save and except his Church or Chapel in Liverpool, called St. Mary's,‡ provided he took upon himself the name of Joshua Lucock Bragg and not otherwise ; and accordingly the condition was complied with by Royal license in May of that year.

In March, 1808, Lucock-Bragg conveyed his interest to John Clarke, of Ashfield, for £13,000 ; and in June, 1812, Clarke conveyed to William Hope, of Liverpool, gentlemen.

The total purchase-money paid by Hope to Banner and Clarke appears to have been £22,000.

Mr. Hope was the father of the late Mr. William Hope, and of Mr. Samuel Hope, formerly a banker in Liverpool.

I think the lands of Mr. Hope and Mr. Woolwright comprised the whole frontage to the Mersey from the northern boundary of the Blackburne property to the southern boundary of Tarleton's purchase, and from the river eastward to the limits of Garston hamlet.

Adam Lightbody, of Liverpool, merchant, was a purchaser of that part of the Beauclerk property which formed the south-eastern portion of the hamlet of Garston, and com-

* A. S. *Sceat*, a portion, part, division, corner.

† A. S. *Saelig*, fertile.

‡ Was this the Roman Catholic Chapel in Edmund Street ?

prised the Island farm, so called, it is said, from being entirely surrounded by roads, the Upper Mill Dam, and the Dutch Farm. The whole of this estate remained in the family until about four years since, when Mr. Robert Lightbody disposed of his portion of the estate, the Island Farm, to the Liverpool Land Company; and Mr. John Lightbody has since sold a small piece of his land, about ten acres statute, to the United Gas Company. Adam Lightbody appears to have been amongst the original subscribers to the Liverpool Infirmary in 1745.*

The Commissioner of Queen Anne's Bounty contracted to purchase from Beauclerk, February, 1775, seven closes of land, containing 15a. 3r. 3p. customary measure. I do not know if the purchase was completed. Perhaps the glebe which lay to the north of the Monks' Field, near the Tithe-barn, was part of this purchase: it is now covered by the railway.

Among other persons who, at the general dismembering of the Norris estates in 1775, purchased property in Garston and Aigburth, was Thomas Tarleton, of Liverpool, Esquire. His purchase consisted of the following closes:—

The Croft, Clover Field, Field before the Door, Long Croft, House Meadow, and Great Green Hey. Further Green Hey, Nearer Green Hey, Further Green Hey (2nd), Nearer Green Hey (2nd), Further Green Hey (3rd), Green Hey, Further Green Hey (4th), Nearer Green Hey (3rd), Higher Hey, New Hey, Higginson's Hey, Four Acre, Little Green Hey, Pool's Hey—all in Garston.

The Great Fourteen Acres, Little Fourteen Acres or Benty Acres, Plumb Three Acres, Higher Bink Heys, Fourteen Acre Coal Hey, Broad Hey, Further Barn Hey, Nearer Barn Hey, Vetch Field, Sea Bent Heys, Wheat Bent Heys, Bent Heys—all in Aigburth within Garston, and containing in the whole 61a. 1r. 9p. of the large measure after eight yards to the rod or pole.

Also all that Messuage, &c., in Aigburth, otherwise Aigburth within Garston, then lately commonly called Old Aigburth Hall, and

* *Baines' Liverpool*, p. 412.

the several closes thereunto belonging and therewith enjoyed, namely, the Orchard, Yard, Intack Meadow, Old Meadow, Horse Pasture, Sand Hey, Barn Hey, Garden Hey, Shipper Hey, Three Acre, Garsey, Croft, Meadow, Swine Meadow, Roard Meadow, Little Bank Hey, Great Bank Hey, and Long Hey—containing in the whole 45a. 1r. 13p. of the like measure.

In March, 1808, the field above-mentioned as the Four Acres, containing 8a. 3r. 27p. statute, was assigned to Joshua Lace, as trustee for Nicholas Crooke and Thomas Crooke.

In 1772 John Tarleton, apparently a merchant in Liverpool, Mayor in 1764, without having served as bailiff, and in 1745 one of the originators of the Infirmary,* purchased from William Cunliffe Shaw,

A messuage, &c., with land appurtenant, containing four acres, let for six shillings a year; another messuage, &c., containing five acres, let for £1 6s. 8d.; and a third messuage, with the fields appurtenant, namely, the Seven Acre, Barn Croft, and Great Cloudy Hey, containing fourteen acres, let for £1 5s., all in Aigburth; and a fourth messuage, &c., containing seven acres, in Garston, let for 10s. 6d. a year. The rents were payable at Lady Day and Michaelmas by "equal portions, and other boons and services." The acreage is, as usual, the long measure.

James Hardman, of Rochdale, merchant, by his will, dated 23rd June, 1746, bequeathed sundry annuities to his widow, daughter, and three sons, amounting in the whole to £15,100; and he empowered his executors, being his widow and his brother, John Hardman, to let out the several portions at interest, or to purchase land of inheritance. This property, and the residue of his personal estate, subject to the charges of maintenance and education, were to be managed by his executors until the youngest child should attain the ages specified.

In default of his children surviving to those ages there was a remainder to the heirs general, being other than the children of his half-sister, Elizabeth Green.

* *Baines' Liverpool*, p. 414.

In the discretion vested in them, the executors, in 1753, purchased from George Warrington, of Wrexham, for the sum of £5000, in equal moieties contributed by themselves, and by John Hardman in his own behalf,

The capital messuage, with the appurtenances, called Aigburth, alias Aigbith, lying within Garston, with all the demesne and other land thereunto belonging; and other messuages, with the land and appurtenances, which were theretofore the inheritance of Dorothy Tarleton, mother of Charles Harrington, then of Charles Harrington, then of his younger brother, John, since in the possession of William Molyneux, heir-at-law of John Harrington, from whom they were purchased by George Warrington.

In April, 1755, Thomas Seel of Liverpool, gentleman, whose family succeeded to the estates of the Harringtons in Huyton, covenanted with the purchasers from Warrington to produce specified deeds showing the title of the said Harringtons to the said hereditaments; but I have not seen any particulars of these deeds, and so am unable to furnish any information respecting Dorothy Tarleton; and cannot say if she were an ancestral or other relative of the John and Thomas Tarleton before mentioned; or who was her father. Her husband may have been a cadet of the Harringtons of Huyton, and her mother may have been the last of the Brettarghs of Aigburth, just as Lady Sidney Beauclerk was the last Norris of Speke.

In 1702, the Brettargh of that day was offering his estate for sale. When recommended for the Commission of the Peace by Sir Thomas Johnson, member for Liverpool, Sir John Gower, then Chancellor of the Duchy, retorted that he was in debt and young. On which Johnson, who we are told was always poor, remarks, "I wonder who is out of debt, and "not once young; and yet he is not so very young."*

It appears that all the children of James Hardman died under age, for in 1770 Jane Hardman, who is described as

* *Norris Papers*, p. 111.

his widow, surviving executrix and legal representative, conveyed to John Tarleton all her undivided moiety of and in the purchase from Warrington, the extent of which is stated to be in the whole 126 acres, large measure.

John Hardman, Jane's co-executor, and the purchaser of the other moiety of the Aigburth Hall estate, died in December, 1755, his nephews John and James, the sons of James, surviving until 1759 and 1756 respectively.

John Hardman, the uncle, had been a prosperous merchant in Liverpool, and was elected one of the representatives in Parliament the year before his death; by his will, dated 1st November, 1754, he gave to his wife, daughter of John Cockshutt, his moiety of the Demesne and other lands belonging to and usually enjoyed with the Hall or Mansion House of Aigburth, together with the Hall and the garden belonging thereto; after her decease to his child or children, and the issue thereof; and in default this property was to pass with other parts of his real estate.

John Cockshutt is said by Gregson to have come from Staunton Harold, Leicestershire. He was elected Mayor of Liverpool in 1702, and died during his year of office. From Sir Thomas Johnson's Letters in the *Norris Papers*, p. 97, there would seem to have been some excitement about this election.

As there has been a good deal of litigation respecting the succession to the property of James and John Hardman, and more impends, it may be interesting to quote the limitations on that succession, which embrace a good deal of property which is not in Garston and Aigburth.

John Hardman devised all his undivided moiety or half of the manor of Allerton, all his messuages, lands and tenements within that manor, in Woolton and Childwall, or any of them; and also his moiety of and in the Hall and Demesne lands of Allerton and Garston, and all his other real estate

whatsoever, to his first and other sons, surviving or posthumous, successively in tail male, and in default of such issue, to his daughters or daughter, surviving or posthumous, and her or their legitimate issue, as tenants in common ; in default of any such his own issue, in trust] for his nephew John, the eldest son of his late brother James, and his issue male, these failing, to his nephew James and his issue male ; with a general remainder, intailed as beforehand to his own right heirs for ever.

Both his nephews dying under age, Richard Pilkington, of Great Lever, the grandson of Mary, the daughter of the common ancestor, supposed himself to be entitled to the whole of the property as heir-at-law, and entered into possession with the usual legal formalities.

On the opposite page will be found the pedigree of this family as far as requisite.

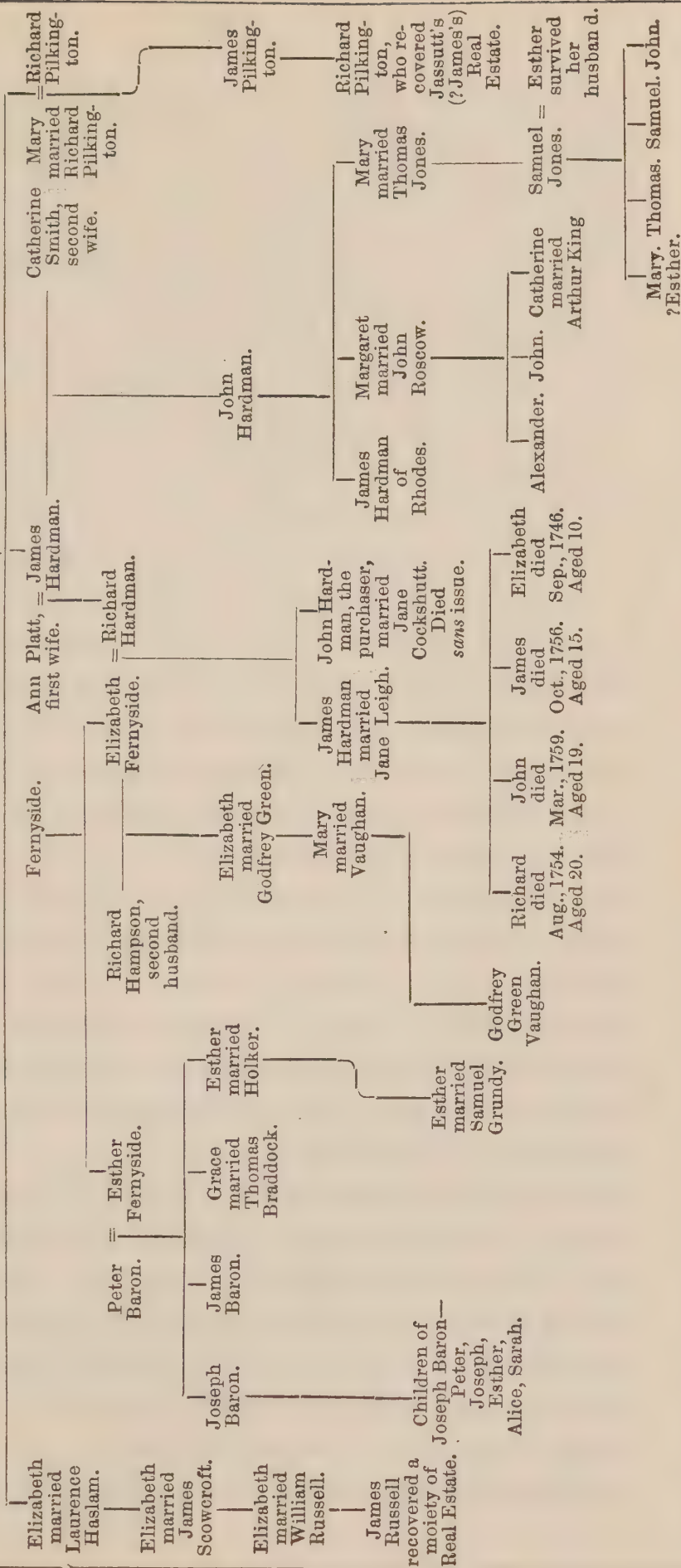
In the Indenture of Fine, 22nd August, 33rd George II, the property is described as consisting of the Manor of Allerton, with the appurtenances, and of 22 messuages, 4 cottages, 1 windmill, 1 dovehouse, 22 barns, 10 stables, 20 gardens, 20 orchards, 220 acres of land, 60 acres of meadow, 220 acres of pasture, and 80 acres of heath and ling and common of pasture for all cattle with the appurtenances in Allerton, Great Woolton, Garston, Aigburth otherwise Aigbith, Grassendale, Childwall and Liverpool. And also of the moiety of 5 messuages, 5 barns, 5 stables, 5 gardens, 5 orchards, 1 dovehouse, 36 acres of land, 24 acres of meadow, 55 acres of pasture, and 300 acres of heath and ling, with the appurtenances, in Aigburth, otherwise Aigbith, and Garston. And likewise one-third part of 1 messuage, with the appurtenances, in Liverpool.

No one who is acquainted with Aigburth and Garston as they now are, would suppose that there was so much heath and ling at a date so recent.

HARDMAN'S PEDIGREE.

Richard.

Richard Hardman,
common ancestor.



Soon after the levying of the above fine, James Russell of Darcy Lever, weaver, claimed to be entitled to one undivided moiety of the said manor, estates and other hereditaments, as great-grandson of Elizabeth Green, the other daughter of the common ancestor, in coparcenary with Richard Pilkington in fee ; and at the Lent assizes at Lancaster, 1763, recovered such moiety in an action of ejectment, and was thereupon let into possession of such undivided moiety.

One half of the property thus recovered by Russell was assigned in trust for the repayment of the pecuniary assistance he had received in prosecuting his claim. In May, 1766, the property so assigned was conveyed to Edmund Ogden of Mossley Hill ; and in August, 1770, the remainder of Russell's interest was conveyed to Mr. Ogden, with the exceptions of twelve acres of land in Great Woolton, the moiety of a warehouse in Liverpool, one-sixth of the Merchants' Coffee House, the moiety of a messuage in the possession of Thomas Earle, and one-fourth of premises in the possession of Rev. Richard Barton and of Richard Renshaw.

In November of the same year Ogden mortgaged his property to John Tarleton, who had probably been a sea captain, for £600 ; from time to time this sum was increased, and in January, 1772, for the gross sum of £2,100, Ogden conveyed the whole of his interest to Tarleton, excepting only one-fourth part of a certain close, part of the Aigburth estate, called Pillard Hey.

John Tarleton, September, 1773, added to his will a codicil, devising his purchases in Aigburth and Grassendale to his eldest son and heir-at-law his heirs and assigns for ever, subject, however, in conjunction with his estates in Dominica, as collateral security for the legacies previously bequeathed to his younger children. The will and codicil were proved at Chester on the 20th of the same month.

Thomas Tarleton of Bolesworth Castle, Cheshire, was the

eldest son. He is said to have purchased in 1805 Bolesworth Castle in Broxton Hundred from Sir Oswald Mosley, Bart., which by subsequent purchases became an extensive domain ; from the announcement of his daughter's marriage to Boycott of Drudge near Bridgenorth, Tarleton appears to have resided at Bolesworth in 1801. The legacies were £5,000 to each of John's younger children, Banastre, John, William, Bridget and Clayton. William died under age, and his share became divisible amongst his brothers and sisters. In 1776 Banastre Tarleton released the estates, and John and Bridget did so in 1781. Banastre was the General Tarleton, who, born 21st August, 1754, served with credit as Lieut.-Colonel under Cornwallis in America 1780-1 ; commanded in Portugal in 1799 ; was Governor of Berwick, 1810 ; represented Liverpool in Parliament from 1790 to 1812, with the exception of the short period in 1806-7, during which Mr. Roscoe sat instead ;* was created a Baronet, January, 1817 ; was author of a History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in the southern provinces of North America, published in 1787 ; and of a letter to Col. Venault de Charmilly in 1810 ; was G. C. B. ; and died at Leintwardine, near Ludlow, 10th January, 1833.

Clayton Tarleton was Mayor of Liverpool 1792-3, the time of the commercial panic consequent on the French revolution, having been twice Bailiff, in 1687 and 1790. He was the sixth and last of his name who filled the office of Mayor.

In January, 1775, Richard Pilkington conveyed his moiety of the Aigburth estate to Thomas Tarleton.

In May, 1775, Tarleton contracted marriage with Mary Robinson, daughter of Laurence Robinson, then late of Clitheroe Castle, deceased ; and the Aigburth property was settled upon his issue by her, subject to an annuity for her life of £400.

* In 1812 his opponents were Canning, Gascoyne, Brougham, and Creevey, of whom the first two were returned.

In October, 1807, the settlement was annulled according to statute in the lifetime of Tarleton and his wife, to enable Tarleton to sell and convey the premises freed from all claims.

In September, 1808, Tarleton sold to Thomas Dixon, of Chester, merchant, for £16,963 15s., “all that capital messuage and tenement called Aigburth, with the several fields, closes, or parcels of land thereto belonging, as the same were described in the plan thereof, indorsed upon the now abstracting indenture, situate, lying, and being within Garston, in the county of Lancaster, and containing by admeasurement 115 acres, 3 roods, 38 perches, statute measure. * * *

“Also the seat or pew in Childwall Church belonging to the said capital messuage.

“And also all that messuage or tenement, with the several closes, fields, or parcels of land thereto belonging, situate and being within Garston aforesaid, containing by admeasurement 71 acres and 32 perches statute measure, * * * together also with the privilege, use, and enjoyment of the several roads so described and laid down in the said plan, in common with the said Thomas Tarleton, his heirs and assigns for ever,” &c.

In January, 1809, Dixon bequeathed this property to William Waln, Joshua Lace, and Thomas Dixon (his son), in trust for equal division amongst his children living at the time of his decease respectively, upon their respective attainments of twenty-one years, or marriage with his wife's consent, if living, which should first happen.

In May, 1817, Thomas Dixon and his two brothers, William Dixon, of Liverpool, merchant, and James Dixon, of Chester, gentleman, conveyed to John Hopkinson, late of Demerara, but then of Liverpool, planter, for £14,652, Aigburth Hall and the lands thereto belonging, containing by a late survey 53 acres 1 rood 5 perches of the large measure; which

premises were then or late in the occupation of Llewellyn Lloyd, Esq.,* and were more particularly described on the endorsed plan. The property was offered for sale by auction on 31st March, 1817.

In 1821, John Hopkinson bequeathed his estates in Demerara or elsewhere in America and wheresoever in Europe, in trust for his nine natural children, seven sons and two daughters, share and share alike, as tenants in common, and not as joint tenants. The will was proved in March, 1822, in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. These children were the offspring of two women of colour, one of whom resided in Aigburth Hall, the other in London. There is the usual history of mortgages on several of these shares, but, to be brief, in March, 1840, the survivors joined in a conveyance to Samuel Amory, of Throgmorton Street, London, gentleman, in trust for sale by auction, or privately; and for the discharge of all incumbrances.

The residue of Tarleton's property was put up to auction in lots, according to the sale plan: the following is the advertisement. I believe the whole of it was disposed of about this time.

On Monday, the 8th day of May, 1820, at one o'clock in the afternoon precisely, at the George Inn, Dale Street, several lots of desirable Freehold Land in Aigburth, about three miles from Liverpool, the property of the representatives of the late Thomas Tarleton, Esq.

The land is well adapted for country residences, commanding beautiful and extensive views of the river Mersey, Cheshire, and the Welsh hills.

The allotments are marked on the land, comprising various quantities from a statute acre to upwards of $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres, and may be increased as agreeable to purchasers; several of the allotments will front a new road intended to be opened, commencing near the entrance of Aigburth, from Toxteth Park towards Mozely Hill.

A plan may be seen, and other information had on application to Stanistreet and Eden, Leigh Street, Liverpool.

* Brother of Lord Mostyn, and agent for Mr. Tarleton; in 1805 he appears, from *Gore's Directory*, to have resided in Colquitt Street; in 1811 to 1818 at Aigburth Hall.

Here I must close this paper, trusting that some other member will be able to fill up the omissions which I have not been able to supply, and to continue the history to a more recent date.

In conclusion, I beg to direct your attention to the report Mr. Eyes gives of the continued waste of the land on the margin of the river, a waste which continues to the present day. It is true he states there is but little change in the position of the line of low water ; but this I believe is only because the progress of the latter is less rapid than that of high-water line. A little reflection will show that the upper part of a precipitous bank is much more exposed to abrasion by the tide and the weather than the lowest margin of a flat beach ; but, as surely as

Envy doth merit like its shade pursue,

so surely does the envious tide prey upon the unprotected land. The very growth of the sandbanks must necessitate the advance inland of the low-water line, since they spread at the bottom as well as above ; they would topple over were not their base enlarged. The banks which are mentioned as having been in existence 600 years ago, and the disappearance of the Altun of Garston, bear witness to the havoc which the tide has made. The materials thus derived indicate the sources of those sandhills and sandbanks so conspicuous at the mouth of the Mersey, and in the upper estuary ; which are among the causes of those tortuous channels which embarrass and endanger commerce.

ON THE PREPARATIONS OF THE COUNTY OF KENT TO RESIST THE SPANISH ARMADA.

FROM THE MS. PAPERS OF ROGER TWISDEN, ESQUIRE, J.P., AND CAPTAIN OF
THE LIGHT HORSE OF THE LATHE OF AYLESFORD, A.D. 1585-1596.

By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., &c., &c., President.

(READ APRIL 2ND, 1868.)

AMONG the numerous historical questions suggested by an "if," none can be more interesting to the English student than the consideration of "what might have been" had the Spanish army made good its landing in 1588. Including the troops of the Low Countries, which were prevented from uniting by Drake's fireships, the Armada would have poured upon our coasts a force of 53,295 regular soldiers, who would have been supported by 8,456 sailors. It must be remembered that the infantry of Spain was the terror of Europe, alike for its steady discipline, far superior to that attempted by any other troops of the period, its stubborn bravery, and atrocious cruelty. The Duke of Parma, who should have taken command, was the ablest general of the day, and his subordinate officers had been trained in desperate wars, and encouraged by the habit of victory. To meet this most formidable enemy, England raised 79,000 men, who were thus disposed:—20,000 along the Southern coast, to watch the Spanish movements and, if necessary, to lay waste the country; 22,000 foot and 1,000 horse at Tilbury, under the Earl of Leicester; 34,000 foot and 2,000 horse in reserve, to march direct to the landing place. Of what manner of men this force was com-

posed, how it was raised, and what was its condition for service, are the first questions I shall try to determine by the aid of Mr. Twisden.

The first sign of alarm on the part of government is seen in the Order of Council, dated December 29, 1583, having reference to train-bands. From this long document I shall make a few extracts:—

“After our hearty commendatōns. Upon view and consideration had of the certificates of the last generall musters taken within the county of Kent, we, finding that the armor and furniture of that countrey, in comparison of the numbers of able men certyfyed, and the necessary strength required for defence of the same, is not sufficient, if any enterprise of invasion should be attempted upon the coast of that countrey, and informing her Ma^{ie} thereof, as we have done of the like defects and wants of other countreys lying upon the sea coasts, her Ma^{tie} dothe therefore thinke it agreeable with good policy according to the principall care she hathe alwayes had of the weale and quiet of her Realme, and the defence of her good and loving subjects, that the same convenient numbers, well furnished with armor and weapon, should be at all times in a readiness, and yet in such sort as might not be overburdenous unto her said subjects, though no charge ought in reason to be counted overburdenous that tendeth to publique safety, hathe therefore thoughte meete that some of the numbers . . should be abated . . in hope that there will be the more care had to see the number now appointed thoroughly furnished, . . . and her pleasure is that every of you, as you are usually employed in yo^r severall divisions, doe cause a p^{re}sent view to be made of able men . . making a perfect rolle of their names and dwelling places. . . . You shall also see and consider the quality and sufficiency of the arms and weapon p^{ro}vided for the said numbers, on which point the magistrates

“were to take the advice of any old soldiers in the neighbourhood.” Any defect in the armour was to be supplied at certain specified places in London, at the expense of the parish which failed to provide for its defenders.

The order to the gentry and magistrates to assemble for the purpose of assessing themselves in all haste, is very curious from its apologetic tone—

“Whereunto it is hoped her Ma^{tie}'s good subjects will the more readily *condescend* if they be put in remembrance of the long, quiet and happy govern^t of her Ma^{ie} under whom they have encreased in wealth, and be freed from the great and excessive burdens and chardges of warrs and other impositions w^h in the govern^t of former princes . . . they have been subject unto ; and so much the rather is it expected they should yield thereto because the charges of this supply shall tend only to the defence of themselves.” Officers were to be selected in haste and assessments made indifferently, “but without charges to the poore.”

But an order from Westminster, dated April 12, 1584, shows that not only was the former recommendation disregarded, but that a petition was forwarded to government requesting the further diminution of 1,000 men in the levy, “for answare whereto,” says the second order, “we cannot but let you plainly understand that, seeing the certificate” (of men and arms) “was, for her Ma^{te} service, required to be made ready long before the writing of the said lres, we cannot but marvayle at such a lre sent soe long after, wth such an unlooked for request.” The service is declared to have been partially carried out “cleane contrary to our meaning, * * * and in troth it is thought that this want proceedeth not so much of a burthen or unwillingness in the countrey, (as is pretended,) which is well knowne to be able enough, but through some disagreement, default, and partiality among the Commissioners, which her Ma^{tie} is

“very sorry to see, &c.” But in spite of this sharp reproof the government remits the 1,000 as petitioned, and it would appear that the magistrates of Kent henceforward did their duty somewhat better, though complaints are still constant.

On the 30th of April, 1584, Thomas Churchyard, gent., was specially sent by the government to review the Kentish levies, with the title of muster master. On the 11th May the musters assembled at Rochester, and droll details we have of the orders conveyed by Mr. Churchyard; but before entering on that subject it may be well to quote entire the official directions:—

“May 11, 1584. Orders agreed upon at Rochester, the
“XI of May, 1584. Justinian Champneys, Esq., High
“Sheriffe of the said County.

“ Thomas Scott,	} Knights.
“ Thomas Ffane,	
“ Edward Hobbye,	

“ John Cobh ^a m, Esquire,	“ John Samule, Esquire,
“ William Crowner, „	“ William Pactheridge, „
“ Thomas Willoughbye, „	“ William Lambled, „
“ Edward Bayle, „	“ Henry Palmer, „

“Comissioners athorised wthin the said County for musters.

“And Thomas Churchyard, Muster M^r gent., appointed
“by her Ma^{ie} for this p^{re}sent service, wthin the said County, for
“the viewing and trayninge of the 4,000 select men, at such
“times and places as hereafter follow, viz^t.

“*ffor the ffirst trayninge—*

“ 625	{	“ 1. To begin to trayne in the Lathe of St. Augustines,
		“ 625 men of all sorts at Wingh ^a m, on Monday and
		“ Tuesday next, being the XVIII and XIX of this
		“ present moneth.
“ 300	{	“ 2. Next to trayne in the Lathe of Shipwaye, 300
		“ men of all sorts, on Thursday XXI of May.

- “ 385 { “ Thirdly. In the ffour hundreds next adjoining to
 “ Shipwaye, beinge parcelle of the Lathe of Scraye,
 “ 385 men of all sorts, at a place called Pelhill, neere
 “ Ashforde, on Satterday, the XXIII hereof.
- “ 420 { “ Fourthly. The VII hundredes parcell of Scraye, 420
 “ men of all sorts, on Monday the XXV herof.
- “ 385 { “ Ffifthly. The hundred of Mylton wth others, parcelle
 “ of Scraye, 385 men of all sorts, at a place called
 “ Stone Roche in Bobbing, on Wednesday XXVII
 “ hereof.
- “ 385 { “ Sixte. In the Lathe of Aylesford, my Lord Cobham’s
 “ division, 385 men of all sorts, at ffynsbury, near
 “ Rochester, on ffryday, the XXIX hereof.
- “ 307 { “ Seaventhe. In Mr. Walton’s division, pcelle of Ayles-
 “ ford, 307 men of all sorts at Maydstone, on Monday
 “ the ffirst of June.
- “ 410 { “ Eyght. In my L. of Abergaveny’s division, parcelle
 “ of Aylesford, 410 men of all sortes at East Malling
 “ hothe, on Wednesday III of June.
- “ 284 { “ Nynthe. In the Lathe of Sutton at Lowe, the lower
 “ division, 284 men of all sortes at Sevenock, on
 “ ffryday the ffift of June.
- “ 566 { “ The Tenthe and last. Thupper division of the Lathe
 “ of Sutton at Lowe, 566 men of all sortes at Chistel-
 “ hurst heathe, on Monday and Tuesday in Whitson
 “ weeke, the eight and ninth of June.”

In regard to these levies, many of the yeomen were really volunteers as are the riflemen of to-day ; many more followed their hereditary masters, as, by one of the Council orders, it is expressly recommended that the foremost landowners of the County and their sons shall be selected to command the musters ; but many more were impressed violently. Throughout Mr. Twisden’s papers and correspondence are allusions to this practice, some of them amusing enough. It may be well,

before entering on the training and arms of the force, to examine a little the method of collecting recruits when sufficient numbers did not voluntarily come forward.

Thus the Deputy Lieutenant of Kent, John Leveson, Esq., writes :—

“ After my verie hartie commendacons to you, forasmuch
 “ as I have received orders from her Ma^{ie}'s most honourable
 “ privy Counsell for the p̄sent providinge and furnishing of
 “ the souldiers now to be imployed in her Ma^{ie}'s service be-
 “ yond the seas ; These are therefore to praye you to make
 “ choice of XXV stronge, lustie, able men, fytted for the
 “ warres, and handsomely apparelled, within your limitte,
 “ beinge such p̄sons as may well be spared, as, namlie, master-
 “ lesse men, and suche as, being in covenant in husbandrie,
 “ will not serve for the wages rated in the statute,” (which is
 one of the earliest mentions of “ strikes,”) “ but take exces-
 “ sivelye ; if alsoe there bee any within your limitte which,
 “ in regard of their good service in husbandrie, cannot well
 “ be spared and yet will demande to great wages, it shall not
 “ bee amisse for the certifying” (warning) “ of themselves
 “ and others to send *them* also with the other XXV ; all which
 “ I desire you to send to Gravesend that they may be there
 “ before me on Satterday morninge next . . . when Captaine
 “ Brooke will muster them, and they shall thence march to
 “ Rochester that night, &c.” Mr. Byng, J.P., forwards the
 communication thus :—“ With verie hartie commendacons.
 “ I have sent heere the copye of Sir John Leveson's letters,
 “ which I received even nowe, which therefore that you and
 “ Mr. Rivers will presentlye take order for the sendinge forth
 “ of all the souldiers out of Littlefield, Twyford, Tunbridge,
 “ Brenchley, Watchlingstone and West barnefield, and we will
 “ do the like for all the reste ; and for my pte I think it best
 “ not to send bare XXV, but to send them all and the Capt.
 “ to make his choyce ;” which generous liberality Mr. Byng

justifies by the suspicion that some may fall “sicke or stail
“aside.” “They may be sent by some or one of your Con-
“stables or one of them, except you can psuade Mr. Iden or
“some other to take the chardge upon him. And thus in
“haste I leave you to the Almightye.” Mr. Byng does not
mention under whose charge he leaves the poor recruits.

It would appear that twenty-nine men were impressed, or, at least, arrived at Gravesend on this occasion, of whom two were discharged by Capt. Brooke, and one by the Commissioners; the latter by a rather mysterious change of apparel.

These pressed men received a bounty of 5s. “to put in
“their purse” on embarking, a pay of one shilling per day, and “conduct,” or travelling allowance of 8d. a day; more liberal pay than our soldiers receive at this moment.

It would seem that Mr. Byng sometimes succeeded in persuading a fellow-justice to undertake the charge of the pressed men, for Mr. Rychers, J.P., thus writes to Mr. Twisden on March 1st, 1591:—

After various unintelligible complaints of Sr John Leveson and others,—“I assure you I had a farr worse piece of service to deliver them at Rochester than wee had at Hadlow: “the arms were soe bad, the men soe unruly,” (as well they might be!) “and the Captayne (who was one of Mr. John-
“son’s sons of Fordidge) soe discontented with the armes
“that came out of the selected bands, that I had a very
“untoward piece of service.”

On March 2nd, Mr. Rychers writes again:—“Blame mee
“not, Sir, if I forgott somewhat in such a hurle-burle; for
“truly the service was very troublesome. Sr John
“Leveson told mee hee would write to my Lo. Lieutenant to
“know his pleasure what course we should take with the
“defaulters. In the mean tyme, those that shall be broughte
“to Mr. Byng and mee, wee meane to binde them to the next
“quarter Sessions, according to our course agreed uppon at

“ Hadlow, and left such further orde be taken with them then
 “ and there as shalbe then appoynted by their Hos: or
 “ otherwise. As for Raye, when I was at Rochester, his
 “ father came in hast with a lre from S^r George Carye to
 “ Capt. Johnson for his discharge, being (as hee wrote) his
 “ man, which was out of course, for you know his name was
 “ not returned to the Captayne, nor any that was absent; but
 “ when I espyed old Ray, I asked him for his sonne, and he
 “ gave mee such answer as I purposed to entreate S^r John
 “ Leveson that hee might lie by the heeles untill he brought
 “ forth his sonne who was in the towne, as I understood, and
 “ was sent for out of Church at Hadlow by his father; but
 “ my ffriend Raye was so sudenly vanished that I could laye
 “ no more sight of him.” Which was probably fortunate for
 “ old Raye,” although, in justice to Mr. Rychers, we must
 admit that young Raye’s name is not among the pressed, and
 that his father seems to have been a fussy, impertinent old man.*

Considering the circumstances under which these men were
 levied, one cannot be surprised to find the following passage
 in a letter of Sir John Leveson’s, dated May 21, two months
 after the impressment:—

“ Ffor that I have received letters from Captayne Brooke,
 “ that diverse of his souldiers runne away with their armes,
 “ amongst whom, they whose names are inscribed, were prest
 “ out of your parts, I pray you to cause diligent search to bee
 “ made for them, and to send them over unto mee, if they bee
 “ apprehended.

“ Thos: Shawe, from Sandwich..... Corslett.

“ Isaac Best,	} from Whishing.....	(Corslett.
“ Thos: Butler,		(Corslett.
“ Rt. Home,		(Corslett.”

* Many little points of interest may be found incidentally scattered among these papers. For instance, it is curious to note that a J.P. in Queen Elizabeth’s time did not venture to put an impertinent fellow in the stocks without the consent of his Deputy Lieutenant. Our ideas both of the freedom and the oppression practised at that time are probably exaggerated.

To shew the incredible promptitude with which these levies were raised, and their extraordinary character, I am tempted to transcribe at length two letters of Sir John Leveson of a later date. On the 29th March, 1595, he writes :—

“ With my hartiest, &c. I send you heere enclosed y^e coppye
 “ of the Right Hon^{ble} my Lord Lieutenant his letters, directed
 “ to my cozen Walsingham and my selfe, togeather with y^e
 “ copy of a letter from their Honours of her Ma^{ties} most
 “ Hon^{bl} Privy Counsel to his Lord^p, heartily praying you
 “ carefully and speedily to see y^e contents thereof put in
 “ execution within your limits. And for that you Mr. Twys-
 “ den are appointed . . . shortely to make showe of your
 “ band before her Ma^{tie} in passing through this Countye, I
 “ desire you for your owne credit, the honour of his Lord^p, and
 “ our county, and her Ma^{ties} most Royall Expectation, that
 “ you doe muster your said bande.”

While Mr. Twisden is thus engaged, the following order, dated five days afterwards, startles him about midnight :—

“ You shall understand that I have this evening received
 “ letters from the Right Hon^{ble} y^e Lord Cobham, signifying
 “ her Ma^{ties} pleasure and commandment that his Lordship’s
 “ deputies shall, with all expedicon possible and diligence, put
 “ in readiness one thousand men, to be well armed and fur-
 “ nished, and to be sent immediately to Dover, where S^r Thomas
 “ Wilford is, by her Ma^{ties} command^t, to have the command and
 “ direction of them ; for the more speedy execution whereof,
 “ these are to require you, in her Ma^{ties} name, all other busi-
 “ ness set aparte, to take p^sent order for y^e levying of 70 able
 “ bodies of men within the Hundreds of Twyford, Brenchly,
 “ Horsmanden, Lowey of Tunbridge, Watchlingstone, Little-
 “ field, and Westbarnefield, which men are to be armed y^e one
 “ halfe with corsletts, y^e other with musquetts and culivers,
 “ which furnitures are to be taken out of Mr. River’s band . . ;
 “ and that y^e said men may be well apparelled ; all which are

“to be ready to be at Aylsford upon Tuesday next, so as upon
 “y^e Wednesday followeing they may march towards Dover;
 “for the conduct of which you are to deliver some impresse
 “to him y^t you may appoint to have the conduct of them,
 “which money is to be levyed by an assesst to be made upon
 “y^e country when y^e charge shall be fully knowne . . . ; I
 “pray you advertyse me with speed of your proceeding hereon
 “that I may certify to her Ma^{ties} Counsell of y^e dayes when
 “her men shall be ready; and soe, recommending y^e care of
 “this her Ma^{ties} service to your consideracons, I committ you
 “to God.

“Hawling, this IIII April at VII o’clock in y^e evening.

“y^r very loveing friend,

“JOHN LEVESON.”

Sir John adds a liberal PS.

“It were not Onwise if there were VI or X more yⁿ y^e pro-
 “porcon brought, y^t choise might be made of y^e best. It
 “were necessary y^t one at y^e least of y^e justices of those parts
 “may be present at y^e delivery of your men to mee, that you
 “may indent mee for y^e receipt of them, as by or^{rs} from their
 “Honours.”

Before Mr. Twysden and his fellow-magistrates have recovered from this sudden demand, they are overwhelmed by the following, dated on the next day, April 5 :—

“Sithence the writing of my last letter to you, dated the
 “IIII of Aprill, I have rec^d a commission from the Right
 “Hon^{ble} the Earl of Essex commanding me with all expedicon
 “to levy 2000 men of the most sufficient and able within
 “this County, to be conducted by the Captaynes and leaders
 “unto y^e Port at Dover withall expedicon, so as they may be
 “there by y^e VI of this moneth in the morneing, and this
 “upon perill of her Ma^{ty}s indignation; which commission
 “was dated y^e last night at Dover at XI a Clock in y^e night,
 “by which you may see how much it importeth us to hasten

“ y^e levy of our men. These are therefore to require you with
 “ all speed to send those men with their furnitures to Ailsford,
 “ which I wrote for yesterday to you and that they fayle not
 “ to be there before nine o'clock in the forenoon, and that
 “ there be horses provided for them to carry them and their
 “ armes to Dover, so as they be there a Wednesday morning.
 “ And because you see the number doubled, these are there-
 “ fore to require you that you take care for y^e levying so many
 “ more as you were required to send, which may followe y^e next
 “ day. . . .”

Two hours after, on the same afternoon, Sir John writes again to hurry poor Mr. Twysden, “ for,” says he, “ our presses
 “ will be too late as y^e cannon hath all this day and sithence
 “ yesterday all night battered at the Raveling of Gravelling,
 “ and y^e volley of y^e canon is heard even now at my house.”*
 He proceeds to remind Mr. Twysden that “ the presse is of
 “ ordinary, XII^d (a day) and y^e conduct VIII^d. It will be
 “ fitt y^t order be taken y^t these have y^t allowance soe long as
 “ they shall be at Dover, and some money in their purses. I
 “ pray you forgett not that y^r nomber is double!”

Mr. Twysden endorses the communication meekly,—“ This
 “ lre came to me about midnight, so the next morneing, with
 “ no little toyle tooke, got forward o^r men to my Lord.” But
 the indefatigable Justice must have been at work all night, for
 his orders to the constables and to the subordinate officers
 “ straitly to impresse 100 men,” are dated at “ IIII o'clock in
 the morneing.” Thus it will be seen that in the days of Queen
 Bess a worthy man might be ploughing his field on a Monday,
 when the order is first given, impressed on a Tuesday, deli-
 vered at Dover on Wednesday, and engaged in fierce battle
 across the Channel on Thursday.

Not even cattle escaped these summary seizures. On

* It may be observed that the distance between Gravelines and Sir John Leveson's house at Halling cannot be under 70 miles.

April 11, the constables are straitly ordered to impress twenty able and sufficient horses for the Royal Post, to be kept six days at their *owners'* charge, and then relieved by others similarly appropriated.

On May 25, two hundred men were demanded from Mr. Twysden "on paine of death," and it seems strange that his district was not depopulated.

Having thus noted the manner of recruiting the levies when sufficient volunteers were not forthcoming, we may proceed to examine their arms, drill, and discipline.

By the laws of England at the period, each hundred was liable for a certain proportion of arms which were in charge of the trainband captains. Among the MSS connected with the arming of Wirral hundred, from which I read many extracts to this Society some years ago, are numerous lists of assessment for what is called "the arms of the hundred." In addition to this store we find long rolls of weapons and armour in the possession of yeomen and peasants, and especially of many widows. Although these instruments would seem to have been private property, the owners were expected to bring them for parade among the musters and, at their own expense, to keep them in serviceable order.

Let us now see what was the uniform and accoutrements of Mr. Roger Twysden's troop of light horse, knowing, by the testimony of the Privy Council itself, that this was the most zealous officer of the shire and the most complimented.

Order from Lord Cobham:—

"That those horses or geldings, and their furniture and ryders, bee appointed and furnished in such sorte as is therefore set downe in the instructions sent from their honors of her Ma^{ties} privy Councel, the last yeare; viz^t.

"That the Ryders have a Jack of plate or a coate of plate, and a scull for his heade, with cheekes covered with clothe, or some such like thinge; or in place thereof, a Burgamet;

“ and the Ryder’s sleeves of his Doublet to be stricked downe
 “ with some small chaynes or plats ; and if any shalbe
 “ otherwise disposed, they may have the horsman armed with
 “ an Alman rivett, or the curasse only of a corslett.

“ Wishinge also that the horse or geldinge should trotte or
 “ rack as meetist for this service, and the saddle to bee light
 “ according to the use of the largest light horsmen, and yet
 “ such as a case of dagges may be fastened to the pumell
 “ thereof ; and that the horse or geldinge to bee ridden with
 “ a snafle or light bitte ; whereunto is to bee added,—that the
 “ Ryders shalbe suited in one sorte of large Cassocke made
 “ of blew cloth with long sleeves, accordinge to the patron
 “ thereof that I will send you.

Also, “ That there bee for your bande a Lieutenante, a
 “ trumpeter, a Cornet or Guydon, an armourer, a ffyrier, a
 “ surgeon, and a Locksmith to amend the dagges.

“ That the place of rendezvous for all the horsmen of your
 “ band bee at Pickenden Hall, to which place, upon the
 “ firing of the Beacons and other warning given unto them,
 “ they must repaire and meet you, from whence also you are
 “ to march forward with them, &c.”

In the arming of Wirrall* it may be noted that light horse-
 men were required to provide :—

“ A geldinge with strong sadle and lethern harnesse, and
 “ for the man a corslette furnished.

“ Northern staffe, a casse of pistols, a sworde and dagger
 “ and even pte of the armour to be goode and sufficient.”

The Kentish horse, on the contrary, are forbidden to carry
 a staff.

In the orders of “ a conference at Maydstone, y^e 18th of
 “ June, 1595,” we have more explicit details of the equipments
 of the light horse, together with interesting notes of cost :—

“ First—for a like [likely] light horse }	xv [£]
trottinge	

* See “ On the Arming of the Levies for the Hundred of Wirral.”

For a pare of curasses black with a } head piece	xxvj ^s	
„ „ long French pistole w th a fire } locke	xxvj ^s	vij ^d
„ „ staffe	ij ^s	vj ^d
„ „ sworde, dagger, and girdle	x ^s	
„ „ pare of sleeves of mayle	vij ^s	
„ „ saddle of morocco fashion, of } counterfeit buff, with head- } stall, brydle and croper, and } a pillion for y ^e pistoll	xxvj ^s	vij ^d
„ „ millian fustian dublet playne ...	xx ^s	
„ „ pare of sharnwayes Venetians...	xx ^s	
„ y ^e payer of stockings	xvij ^s	
„ y ^e shirts w th falling bandes	xij ^s	
„ Boots and spurs	vij ^s	
„ a payer of shoes	ij ^s	
„ „ hatt or cap	ij ^s	vj ^d
„ „ coate of blew cloathe	xxij ^s	
„ y ^e ryder till he be emploied from } y ^e time of his imprest p diem } for vj days	vj ^s	
For his conduct for vij dayes to Lon- } don and from thence to West } Chester at iij ^s per diem	xxiiij ^s	
<i>Item</i> —To eachman in his purse (bounty)	xx ^s	
For his impress		xij ^d ”

The whole amounting to £27 6s. 4d. ; on the calculation of which the “conference,” with a liberality which seems to have been usual at the period, decrees:—“Y^t there shalbe “levied in evry lathe, for every horse & rider furnished, &—“for the supply of extra ordinary charge, the full sum of “£xxx, which is to be accounted for.” It has already been noted that “y^e poore” were not to be “oppressed” by assess-

ments, and although it may be difficult to ascertain what was signified by “y^e poore” in Queen Bess’s day, we can safely credit that the Local Boards of our time are not quite so open-handed as in the time of the Armada.

Of the armament of footmen we do not find such ample lists preserved, but there is abundant evidence indirectly. The long bow, which was still an important arm, apparently belonged to the individual who was trained to the use of it, for we never find any mention of this weapon being served out to the troops. The remaining force was divided into musqueteers and pikemen, who were defensively armed with corslets.

Mr. John Rychers writes, on the occasion of a levy from his district:—“There were XI corseletts furnished [for 26 men], “whereof VIII were of those that came from Hadlow [Mr. Twisden’s house], “and three I bought of Roger “Garrett; all the XI pykes came from Hadlow; so Garrett “is not to be allowed for pykes, swords, dagges, nor girdles. “There were also VI musquets furnished which came all “from Hadlow. (The Captayne undertook the supplement “of these armes.) These men and armes were delivered as “aforesaid, and conducted by Baker, Abraham Burrage, “Curlinge, and Walter Hale, Constable, to Sittingbourne that “night, and there the Constable to leave them with the “Captayne.

“The Captayne refused one of these XI corseletts, and the “Constable had order for the bringing of it back againe from “Sittingbourne, soe that the Captayne will allow but X “corseletts and VI musquets, of which corseletts III were “Roger Garrett’s and 7 belonging to Mr. Ryvers’s.”

The corslett “furnished” consisted of a headpiece, a goriet (gorget), a sword, dagger, and girdle. In consequence of this raid of Mr. Rychers upon the Hadlow magazine, it was reduced to the following scanty dimensions:—

Sum of armes left at Hadlow.	{	Corsletts	III
		Pykes	1
		Swords	2
		Dagges	2
		Girdle	1
		And an old payer of <i>Pouldrons</i> .	

When all arrangements had been completed to the “Cap-
“tayne’s” satisfaction, the constables were to account to
Mr. Twysden “for II corsletts furnished which are lacking of
“those that were delivered to them at Hadlow;—whereof one
“was left at an alehouse at Wouldham, as the constables
“supposed,” (they seem to have been very uncertain about
this fact) “and the other lost. There is yet one other cors-
“lett at Widdow ffletcher’s house at maydstone which was
“brought from Sittingburne. Thus have you an accompt of
“all the men, armes, and money which I received of you,—
“unless myne owne charges be alowed,”—which, in spite of
their usual liberality, poor Mr. Rychers brother magistrates
did not seem inclined to do.

Having thus examined the levying and armament of the
trainbands, we may proceed to the system of drill laid down
for them by Her Majesty’s ablest generals, and by the native
ingenuity of their own officers. There are, indeed, very many
details of interest connected with the long list of charges and
assessments and accounts rendered, but these may be post-
poned to another season.

We have seen that Thomas Churchyard, gent., was ap-
pointed by the Privy Council Muster Master of the Kentish
levies on May 6, 1584. Some extracts from his official
instructions will lead us to a tolerably complete knowledge
of the state of the levies.

“(1) Whereas, uppon the good opinion conceived of your
“skill, judgment, and dexterity in Martiale discipline, there
“is speciale choyce made of you to be employed as a Muster

“ Master and trayner of such number of men as of late by
 “ her Ma^{ties} commandment are put in a readines wthin the
 “ county of Kent, you shall p^{re}sently upon y^e receipt hereof
 “ make yo^r repair to the said county. . . . You shall
 “ require the Commissioners to give orders to the said Cap-
 “ taynes to be present at the times and places agreed on that
 “ they may see and p^{re}ceive what course you shall take in the
 “ trayninge, to the end one uniforme order may be held
 “ therein among them all. . . .

“ (2) . . . Before you proceed to the viewing and
 “ trayning of the men, you shall require the Commissioners
 “ to deliver unto you a copy of their muster roles, that you
 “ may thereby consider of the numbers and qualitie of their
 “ weapons, to the end you may divide into bonds, allotting
 “ CC men to every bond, sorting their weapons, not in such
 “ just proportion of every kinde as happely were requisite in
 “ every bond if they should be brought to p^{re}sent action of
 “ service ; but—according as every of the said divisions shall
 “ best yield.

“ (3) . . . And forasmuch as there are two monethes
 “ of time lymited to be imployed in the training of the shott,*
 “ and viewing of the men, armour, and furniture, it is thought
 “ convenient that you first begin with the trayning of the said
 “ shott, wherein you may bestow the first two dayes in every
 “ weeke in each division. And other two dayes of the same
 “ weeke in viewing the abilitie and sufficiencie of the Pikemen,
 “ bowemen, and billmen. . . . We require you specially
 “ to have care that the bowemen found insufficient for the
 “ use of that weapon be changed, and choyce made of others
 “ more fitte and able in strength to handle the same. . . .

“ (4) And to the end that the shott may be brought to
 “ some better readines in the use of the culivers, . . . it

* A word used in Queen Elizabeth's time to signify a musqueteer. It is several times found in Shakespeare.

“is thought expedient that, in the absence of you the Muster
 “Master, after the first shew of trayning had, that the Cap-
 “tayne or Captaynes appointed to have charge of the bonds
 “doe, upon every half holiday, and on the Sondayes in the
 “afternoone, assemble the shott in a fitt place . . . and
 “exercise them. . . . And where the Captaine shalbe
 “unskilful, beinge, as we wishe, the eldest sonne of a princi-
 “pall gentleman, . . . then you cause some man skilfull
 “in Martiall Profession, inhabiting thereabout, to assist him
 “in such Trayning.” The remaining clauses of the instruc-
 tion recommend Mr. Churchyard to avoid the consumption of
 powder by teaching the recruits “false fyre, whereby they
 “may learn how to yield their bodies in comely sort to the
 “peece, and assure their eye to the fyre.”

Let us now see the more particular directions issued by the
 Privy Council, under the advice of the generals of that period.

A.D. 1584. “An order for the easie and ready trayning
 “of shott, and the avoyding of great expences and wast of
 “poulder.

“The leaders and Captaynes who are appointed to instruct
 “and trayne them, shall cause an Halbert to be sett up in the
 “playne, whereby every shott may pass in that order which
 “the Ffrenchmen cal ‘à la file,’ or, as we tearme it, ‘in rank
 “‘like wild geese,’” (very much like wild geese, one may
 believe,) “and so, passing by the halbert, to p̄sent his peece
 “and make offer as though he would shoote; and those that
 “doe not behave themselves with their peeces . . . may
 “receave particular instructions and teaching. . . . This
 “exercise would be used two or three meetings, at the least,
 “. . . in which time may be deserved those which cannot
 “frame themselves to prove shott, in whose room the Captayne
 “may require other to be placed who are more apt thereto.
 “Afterward to teach them how to hold their peeces from
 “endangering themselves and their fellowes; to put in their

“ matches, and to acquaint them with false fyers, by prying
 “ the panne and not chardging the piece, which will inure
 “ their eye with the flashe of the fyer, embolden theyr partes,
 “ and make every thing familier and ready unto them ; then
 “ to give the peece half his chardge and acquaint them with
 “ skirmishing, to come forwards and retire orderly againe ;
 “ after, to proceed to the full chardge ; and lastly, to the bullet,
 “ to shote at a marke for some trifle bestowed on him that
 “ deserveth the same. With this order and pollicy men shall
 “ in short time be exercised, and with the Xth part of the
 “ chardge, to the greater ease of the countrey, and saving of
 “ poulder ; for that, in this manner, it is founde that two
 “ pounce of poulder will serve one man for the fflower dayes
 “ exercise of trayning ; and a number which, by reason of the
 “ churlishness of their peeces, and not being made acquainted
 “ therewith by degrees, are ever after so discouraged and
 “ feared, as either they winke,—or pull out their heads from
 “ the peece, whereby they take no perfect levill but shoote at
 “ randome,—and soe neaver prove good shott.

(Signed) “FRA : WALSINGHAM.”

We have instructions of a later period, probably about 1595, from no less a commander than Lord Essex upon this subject. A few passages may be found both instructive and amusing.

“ In teaching the use of shott, the souldier must first learne
 “ to present his peece, and to take his level, and how and
 “ when to give vollyes with those of his ranks. This ys the
 “ proper office of the Sergeant of Companies, ffor they should
 “ bothe teache the shott the use of there armes, and be there
 “ leaders in svice, yf by speciall comannd^t a superior officer
 “ be not appointed.

“ In teaching to gyve vollyes, the ancient and vulgar
 “ manner of discipline is—that the whole volly shalbe gyven

“ of all the shotte in one battal̄on or troupe, at an instante,
 “ as well of them behinde as before, which is utterlie to be
 “ condēned; for either the hindmost must venter (risk) to
 “ shoot their fellowes before through the heade, or els, will
 “ overshoot and so spend their shot unprofitable. Besides,
 “ the vollye being once gyven, the enemy comes on without
 “ impeachment or annoyance; but instede of this kinde of
 “ vollye at once,—which only serves to make a great cracke,—
 “ let the first rank onlye gyve there volley, and, yf the battalion
 “ marche, then that ranke that hath gyven there vollye to
 “ stand, and the seconde to passe through yt, and so to gyve
 “ vollye and then to stande; and the third to come up, and
 “ soe consequentlie all the rankes.

“ If the battaliō stand, then the first, having gyven theyr
 “ vollye, shall faule back, and the second to come in there
 “ places, and so the third and fourthe, till the first ranke be
 “ become the last, and the last first, and so the vollye shall
 “ still continieu, and the enimie never be free from annoy-
 “ ance; all which is easily p̄formed if before you do but
 “ make your shott open their files.

“ In teaching the souldier to knowe the sound of the drume,
 “ we must make them observe not onlye what the drume dothe
 “ beate, but what time he kepes; for according unto that the
 “ souldier ys to marche faster or slower; and as by the sownde
 “ of the drume we doe teache the soldier to marche, so by the
 “ voyce we teache him all mocions.

“ To make them p̄fect in these mocions, yt is therefore good
 “ to use them to some certayne wordss, which being once
 “ lerned shall still serve for dyrection. Those which we used
 “ in trayning and disciplynge her Ma^{ties} armies at Plymouthe
 “ were suche as these:—

“ Leaders stand forward wth yo^r files.

“ Ranks open forward paces 5.

- “ Ffaces to the right hand.*
- “ Ffaces to the leaft hand.*
- “ Ffaces about.
- “ Open y^r files feete 3.
- “ Close y^r files.
- “ Double your ranks to the right hande.
- “ Double your ranks to the leaft hande.
- “ As you were.
- “ Ranks from behind close.
- “ Ranks open backwards paces 5.
- “ Ffront passe throughe.
- “ Ffollowers passe throughe.”
- &c. &c. &c.

A very strong effort was made at the time of the Armada to restore our national weapon, the long-bow, to its former place in public reputation. And if we consider the rapidity of fire of this weapon, its convenience of use, lightness, safety, and, above all, the great length of its range, we must admit that the officers of Elizabeth were eminently prudent in preferring it to the clumsy, dangerous, and complicated fire-locks of that period. Indeed, in examining minutely the accounts preserved to us, (and preserved by legal and parliamentary evidence,) of the incredible skill to which our ancestors had attained in the use of a weapon now relegated to boys and ladies, I cannot but be surprised that the firearm should have superseded it within a century of the Armada invasion. By the statute of Henry VIII, 1542, it was enacted that every bow should be three fingers thick *and squared*. That no man over twenty-four years of age should shoot with the light-flight arrow at any distance under two hundred and twenty yards. Within that limit the warshaft, an ell long, was to be solely

* I do not quite know how this is to be understood or interpreted. It rather appears to me to signify “ Right face ”—“ Left face,” than “ Eyes right ”—“ Eyes left.” This point is of very little importance, but I may add that the manœuvres of Queen Bess’s troops do not seem to me to have had any need of such finesses as “ Eyes right.”

employed ; the butts were marked for four hundred yards for the lighter arrow. I am told that our very best archers of this day cannot discharge their shaft more than two hundred yards, and that there are few men living who, at any elevation, could reach a limit of one hundred yards with the ell-long arrow of our ancestors.

Quitting this consideration, which would lead me far astray, I would note a very curious discrepancy between the instructions issued to the levies of Kent by the Privy Council and those furnished to the Hundred of Wirral by the Lord Lieutenant of Cheshire. The latter writes to the Captaynes of the traynbands, commanding them “to change y^r bowmen “into musquets, and y^r billmen into pycks, according to our “form^r directōns not yet accomplished.” The latter urge again and again that the magistrates shall insist on the practice of archery, at the peril of her Majesty’s most severe indignation, “and in our order it is straightly charged that “among such persons as shalbe liable by vertue of her Ma^{ties} “letter selected and trayned with shott, it is not meete and so “we require you, that you doe not admitt any person to this “purpose being an able archer and bowman ; but that you “shall continue such care and regard for the practice of “archery, &c.”

In Mr. Twysden’s papers we find spirited orders to the watchers of the various beacons, as for instance :—

“To Nicholas Gisborne, Esq., scout master, and to all his “deputies and overseers of watches, scouters, and watchmen.

“If any shipp may be discovered uppon the seas in the “day time, to vayle his bonnet twice,* and then shoote of a “peece, and to vayle his bonnet the second time twice, and “then to shoote of a peece.

“Then fier the beacons at the seaside at your uttermost “perills.

* To strike our sail.

“Also, if in the night time any of you discover a shipp
 “havige two lights, one above the other, and shoote of a
 “peece, and soe continue shootinge twice or thrice.

“Then fier the beacons next the seaside uppon the like
 “perill.

“In doeinge whereof this shalbe to you or any of you a
 “sufficient discharge.

“(Signed)

“THOMAS SCOTT.

“JAMES HALES.”

Though the interest of many remaining documents in this collection is very tempting, I have not time for more quotations. From the mass of materials before me, I have especially endeavoured to select those minute and, as it were, indirect testimonies which give, I think, the keenest insight into the spirit of the levy and its probable fitness to meet the tried soldiers of Spain. Throughout these papers we see the self-sacrificing loyalty which Mr. Froude has so well described as characteristic of the noble Tudor age; we look almost in vain for one word of sullenness, much less of refusal, though the demand “on public service” be never so exorbitant. Every officer, from the High Sheriff and the Deputy Lieutenant to the mere Justice of the Peace, whose income needed not to exceed £20 a-year, cheerfully pays State expenses from his private purse, trusting, not always with reason, to his brother magistrates for repayment. I think no man can refer to the authentic documents of this period, though he give them but the hastiest glance, without perceiving how noble was the epoch, and how magnanimous the spirit that animated all classes. I refer not only to the date of the Armada, of which it may be said that a common danger elicited the evanescent virtue of all ranks. Throughout that grand sixteenth century, the age that left its mark scarce below that of the antique world itself, we may note a common nobility of soul which later generations have scarcely essayed to attain. Duty,

loyalty, the religion of manhood, were not then mere words, to be bandied about in cynical journals, but loving impulses of the national heart. Inspired by such generous instincts, confident in themselves, their faith, and their masters, those rough levies which I have described passed in four days from the plough tail to the field of victory across the channel. Not once nor twice did this happen, and after all the revelations you have heard to-night, after the publication by Government of those secrets that made anxious the boldest of Elizabeth's council, I, for one, looking at the spirit of the day, its wisdom and fervent loyalty, would not have despaired of the issue though the Invincible Armada had poured its force unbroken upon our country.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF BRITISH ANTIQUITIES,
DERIVED FROM OBJECTS FOUND IN
SOUTH AMERICA.

By the Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L., F.S.A., &c., Vice-President.

(READ 14TH NOVEMBER, 1867.)

I. INTRODUCTION.

I HAVE somewhere read,—perhaps in *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, though I cannot at this moment find the passage,—that a person who should journey from London to St. Petersburg, across the intervening countries of Europe, would witness every grade of civilization through which England had passed in the previous two hundred years. The statement, if not strictly accurate, is approximately true : I allude to it, however, not as announcing an isolated fact, but as one illustration of a very wide general principle. A person might say, for example, with equal reason, that in a forest, the history of an aged oak might be read in a hundred other oaks, from the acorn, through every stage of successive development:—or that in human life, the progress and decay of the most aged of our species might be shewn, by seven or ten other persons who illustrate what are called the “ages”* of man. Even in the inanimate products of human handiwork, the same class of facts is observable. The history of a completed locomotive may be virtually read at the extensive factory of a railway company, in the succes-

* ———One man in his time plays many parts,
His acts being seven ages.—*Shakspeare*.

See Mr. Winter Jones's Remarks on the Division of Man's Life into Stages. *Archæologia* xxxv, 167, and plates 5, 6, 7, 9.

sive degrees of advancement of sister engines : and the progressive gradations in the building of one of our largest ships, may be traced in a dockyard, from the laying of the keel.

The principle referred to, expressed in words, is somewhat like the following. The various steps in the progress of any people, from barbarism to civilization, cannot be witnessed by any one man ; for as he appears at only one point of time, he can see merely the condition which exists in his own day. The previous stages must be learned from history and philosophic research. But as the progress of all nations,—like the growth of plants or animals, or like the production of objects in art and manufacture,—is in a great degree uniform, Geography serves us in the place of History : and the various stages in the life of any advanced nation, may be seen in the *present* condition of certain other nations which have made less progress towards maturity.

It is necessary to observe that the principle is most applicable to civilized communities of small or moderate extent, the members of which have advanced together, in nearly the same grade, and with mutual knowledge of each other, more or less. In spite of minute divisions, such was in a great degree the case with England, Denmark, Switzerland, Holland, and several of the countries of central Europe. On the other hand, the principle is least applicable to very large communities, like those of the United States and of Russia. Neither of these is a single community, for one might say of either country, though in a sense somewhat different, as Metternich said of Germany, it is “ a Geographical expression.” In both cases, the national family consists of an agglomeration of races, aliens to each other in blood in language and religion ; and existing under ethnological conditions widely different. Almost as a matter of course, then, we find in each of these countries nearly every grade of social development :—from

barbarians roaming in small groups, without fixed home or certain sustenance, to intelligent communities and still more intelligent individuals, possessing and diffusing the various blessings, material and moral, which give a charm to human existence.

A few sentences more, may suffice to place the leading thought with sufficient clearness before the reader.

The principle of national development, laid down by the late Mr. Thomsen of Copenhagen, is partly right and partly wrong. He named the various stages of it according to the materials commonly in use as implements;—*e.g.* the Bone period, the Stone period, the Bronze period, and the Iron period. Some have declared that this is an important discovery, the revelation of a truth universally applicable, and that his analysis admits of further division; while others affirm that it is an insupportable fallacy, the propagation of which tends to lead Archæologists astray. As in many other cases, a few words of explanation serve to reconcile the apparent difference.

If it be meant that any large community employed bone or stone or bronze instruments exclusively, it is morally certain that the theory is incorrect; for even at the present hour, there is a wide difference between the people of the city and of the country, of the plain and of the mountain, of the retired hamlet and the busy thoroughfare. Some are a century and more behind others; and even in the small primitive communities which have become gradually concentrated into great nations, such rigid uniformity was at all times impossible. In like manner, it is absurd to suppose that implements of one kind were suddenly abandoned and those of another kind assumed; like the disappearance among ourselves of coins which are withdrawn from circulation, or like the introduction of a new implement of war among soldiers. But it is only fair

to say, that in stating the principle nothing so absurd as this was meant. These are some of the extremes to which a valuable theory has been unwarrantably pressed ; and the persons who view it in this light, are naturally and necessarily its opponents.

If, on the contrary, the author meant nothing more than that these are the stages generally* passed through, that they neither exist uniformly in any country nor are changed simultaneously,—and we have reason to believe that this is all that was meant or that can be maintained,—it is undeniable that the theory is at once true and important. We can contemplate the condition of infancy, or youth, or manhood, or old age, without the necessity of supposing that there was a community of infants or of mere youths, and especially that they passed from one stage to another abreast, or like a class in one of our great schools progressing to a higher form.

Let us regard, for a moment, the whole of the known world as one country, and its diversified population as one great nation. Then, it must be clear to the most superficial observer, that the provinces and departments are not all in the same state of forwardness. Some are one two or three centuries in advance of others ; some are in the condition of infancy, others of youth, others again of ripe manhood or of green and healthy age. We can therefore direct our attention to any one specified condition ; or by noticing several we can show what the experience of the most advanced countries has necessarily been.

* In like manner we speak of the “Christian era,” though there are many heathens in the world, and some even in our own country.—*Argument of Sir John Lubbock, Bart.* “By the side of Antiquities of gold and bronze, are “nevertheless found arms and implements of stone ; especially axes and hammers, “which proves that even after the introduction of metal into the country, its “dearness caused large articles still to be manufactured from stone. The bronze “period in Denmark comes down considerably lower than the time of the “Romans.”—*Worsaae Afbildninger fra Det Kongelige Museum for Nordiske Oldsager Kjöbenhavn*, 1854, p. 19.

a. One of the lowest rounds in the ladder which conducts to the platform of civilization is that occupied by the Digger Indian, found among the Rocky Mountains on the way to California. By the assistance of a few twigs, he gathers the seed of a particular kind of grass, and pounds it for food, as more advanced nations grind corn. His home is a natural cave, or an artificial structure scarcely more pretentious than that erected by the gorilla in Equatorial Africa. The native of the interior of Australia occupies nearly the same rank. He pounds the "nardoo" seed for food, or devours raw shell fish found on the border of a lake; and avails himself of almost every portion of the carcass of bird or beast that falls into his possession living or dead.* A recent writer† thus describes the inhabitants of the Cape York Peninsula, in the same great country. "They subsist on fish, turtle, roots, fruits, &c.; have no knowledge of agriculture; never build huts, but sleep in the open air; have strong migratory propensities; and apparently a total disbelief in a Superior Being or God of any sort; characters which give them a claim to be regarded as among the lowest and most degraded of the human race."

b. The inhabitants of Western Africa are more advanced. They point their spears with bone, and like the New Zealanders of thirty years ago, they manufacture bone fish hooks. A shell serves for a spoon, or occasionally for a knife or a cup; and a section from a circular bone is easily scraped into a ring or a bracelet. But even in Cornwall, bone implements were in use till lately, for the purpose of getting bark off trees.‡ The resources of primitive people are sometimes surprising to those who are accustomed to have every thing ready to hand. It is said that some English sailors left a bottle on the coast of Patagonia, and that when they returned shortly after, they found it broken up, and the natives employed in making spear points and arrow heads out of the fragments.

c. Herodotus mentions that certain tribes came into battle, with spears and lances tipped with bone and stone.§ Though

* *Burke and His Companions*: the Victorian Exploring Expedition;—Melbourne, 1861.

† Dr. Rattray, R.N., *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, xii, 313.

‡ E. T. Stevens, Esq., at Congress of *Prehistoric Archaeology*.

§ "The Ethiopians used heades of a harde sharpe stone, as both Herodotus and Pollux do tel. The Germanes as Cornelius Tacitus doeth saye, had theyr shaftes headed with bone, and many countryes bothe of olde tyme and nowe vse heades of horne."—*Roger Ascham's Toxophilus*.

many of the Patagonians possess metallic implements procured in barter, the nomadic tribes are said to be still addicted to the use of stone implements. The Fuegians and the inhabitants of the Andaman islands are still in the stone period;—and the Greenlanders used implements of bone and stone till wood and iron were introduced from Denmark. Also, there are people still alive within whose memory New Zealand did not possess metal, the most elaborate carvings* being executed by chisels of greenstone or some other hard material. These are now rare, hundreds having been picked up as curiosities, and for public and private museums, since the introduction of metal. Perhaps the process of engraving upon stone with implements of the same material, is still more curious than that of engraving upon wood. Yet it has been ascertained by the Rev. W. F. Holland,† that the rock inscriptions in the peninsula of Sinai, were almost all engraved with stones. Much of the chiselling also, of great stones found in Denmark and Switzerland, was performed by flint implements of what has been called the *neolithic* period. Stone implements are used to this day, for the purpose of working in stone, by the inhabitants of Tahiti.‡

d. Probably there is no country at the present day, whose people are restricted to implements of bronze or any other alloy of copper. Yet we learn from history that such was the case in Homeric times; and we know that some of the North American Indians, till very recently, found that metal more abundant and more easily worked than iron. Many evidences show that stone implements were still in use during the age of Bronze.

e. The use of iron exists in two states. In the lower, it is in use, but procured as an article of commerce; and this remark applies to nearly the whole of Africa and to much of Asia. The ruder people struggle to obtain knives, nails, hoops, pincers, &c., and the more intelligent to secure manufactured implements and tools ready for use.

f. In the countries of greatest advancement, iron is manufactured; and in the various processes connected with steel, its value is increased many fold.

* *Ancient Meols*, 208, 208 n., 210 n.

† *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, Vol. xii, p. 192.

‡ Sir John Lubbock, Bart., Sir James Simpson, Professor Huxley, H. M. Westrop, Esq., F.S.A.,—&c.

It is on the principles thus laid down, that I look for the illustration of British Antiquities in South America. Certain countries which were visited some months ago, are in social grade *at present* what England *has been*; and therefore we are surprised and gratified at seeing to-day the implements and operations which were familiar to our ancestors, many generations or even centuries ago.*

II.—OPERATIONS IN NATURE.

It was in connexion with this subject, that the whole of this and a preceding Essay had their origin. Certain statements of mine respecting (1) the "Submarine Forest," on the coasts of Lancashire and Cheshire, (2) the subterranean forest connected with it, extending over many square miles, and (3) the mode of deposit of the objects of antiquity, were called in question; and an attempt was made to bring my assertions into discredit by a corrupted quotation from *Leland's Itinerary*. This I detected and made known; but I did not and do not attribute *intentional* wrong to any one. In this case, however, good faith can be defended only at the expense of intellectual capabilities.

That I may not interrupt the continuity of my remarks, I

* While these pages are passing through the press, a most curious illustration of this principle is brought to light. Dr. Hooker in his Address to the British Association for the Advancement of Science, at Norwich, 19th August, 1868, stated that "within three hundred miles of the British capital of India, exists a "tribe of semi-savages, which habitually erects dolmens, menhirs, cysts, and "cromlechs, almost as gigantic in their proportions and very similar in appearance and construction to the so-called Druidical remains of Western Europe." These are the Khasia people, of East Bengal, an Indo-Chinese race. They erect one or more every year, separating the blocks by applying heat and then water, and using no implements beyond the lever and rope. Further investigation of their habits will no doubt throw great light on certain prehistoric facts in this and other countries of Europe.—Besides, this is the third year in which an International Congress has been held for the promotion of "Prehistoric "Archæology," a branch of the general subject which has of late assumed great scientific importance. Of the papers read, one was by E. B. Tylor, Esq., "*On the customs of existing Savages, as illustrations of Prehistoric Times*;" and others were on Stone and Flint Implements from various parts of the World, on Crania, Ancient Cave Habitations, Prehistoric Sepulchres, the Distribution of Man, &c.

treat of the facts referred to in an Appendix* to this section. And, that the line of facts here may harmonise with the line of arguments in the previous Essay to which this is related, I adopt the same great divisions.

1. *Forests.*†

Primeval forests, which have disappeared from England in general for two or three centuries, exist to-day in both North and South America. Every fact, respecting their treatment, therefore, is well known; and we are morally certain that we have placed before us,—with certain minute differences in time and place,—the facts which occurred centuries ago, on our own soil. And what are these facts, or some of them?

When land is required for cultivation it must be cleared; and this is effected partly by fire, and partly by the axe of the woodman. It is very difficult to burn down a tree in the full vigour of vegetable life; but if fire be applied at the close of a few weeks of dry weather,‡ or when the leaves are beginning to assume the tints of autumn, the tree is inevitably killed. The brushwood and other lighter materials blaze up, the smaller portions are consumed; and one side is usually very much charred, while the vitality of the trunk is destroyed. Indian corn or some other agricultural product is then planted among these blackened skeletons, and the farmer awaits a convenient opportunity to level them with the axe. Often the trees are carted away, or converted into fences for the very field in which they grew; while the stumps remain from eighteen to forty inches high. On other occasions, the branches are sawn off; and the trunks being cut into lengths, are carted or floated to a distance. But not unfrequently a saw-pit is erected in a wood of good timber, the logs are rudely squared by the axe, and they are then divided into boards.

* Appendix A.

+ *Transactions*, xviii, (New Series, vol. vi,) p. 5.

‡ Numerous cases were mentioned in the Newspapers, in the month of July and the first days of August, 1868.

We must not suppose, however, that these operations illustrate the practice of our forefathers, in clearing England of its mediæval forests. The processes of an enlightened people by whom good implements are used, and who aim at economy or profit, are less in point than those of a primitive people with whom agriculture is yet in its infancy. Such are found among the Indians of South Chile, who exist apart from the rest of the world, though at their most distant borders there is a mixture, more or less, of Spanish blood. Their practice is something like the following. About three or four months before the harvest, they cut down all the light timber. The heavier portions are allowed to stand ; and after harvest the timber lying on the ground is burnt. In the latter part of May and June, (answering to our November and December,) they sow wheat and leave it. If the soil be hard, they drive oxen in to tread it down ; if not, the rain covers it sufficiently. The whole is surrounded by a rude fence.

The trees which are found in our own subterranean forests* or turf bogs excite among inquirers, as we might expect, some varieties of opinion. Thus, it is affirmed by one that they have been blown down by a great storm, or levelled by an irruption of the sea ; by another, that they fell before the woodman's axe ; and by another still, that fire was the element which laid them low. It will be evident from what has just been stated, that fire and the axe jointly were the principal agents.

2. *Mosses.*†

Though I saw no mosses, properly speaking, yet they are known to exist. In the south-temperate zone, and where rains are of frequent occurrence, there are numerous settlements of

* For additional facts respecting subsidences of land on the sea coasts or "Submarine Forests," see Appendix B.

† *Transactions*, vol. xviii, (New Series, vol. vi,) p. 21.

water among the hills; some in the form of permanent lakes, and frequently as ponds which are forded with difficulty after heavy rain, but which are dried up in summer. Not unfrequently, the hill tops are free from the spongy substance which covers most of our own, at least the parts that are above the range of cultivation; and the result is such as has often been noticed in Australia. The whole waters of a shower are discharged into the ordinary river beds at once, and there is a destructive flood; whereas, with us much is retained, and trickles out in a supply for weeks or months afterwards. But the important point is, that fallen timber is soon covered up in the rich vegetation which surrounds it; and thus, while our mosses at home afford us frequent examples of the *disinterring* of trees, we can witness almost daily, in the primitive forest, the previous process of *burying* them. It is very likely that before the tree becomes completely imbedded, its external layers are rotted off; and that the smaller branches share the same fate. This also would harmonise with our own experience respecting subterranean timber. Near the equator a fallen tree is still more rapidly buried; but timber is there of such rapid growth, and usually so porous, that it soon decays. The roots which remain under ground wholly or partially, in any latitude, sometimes retain their positions long after all traces of vegetation above ground have disappeared.* Thus, the troops of voyagers who cross

* The following are extracts from my Diary:—

All the valley of Arica, now a sandy desert, sparkling with hexagonal crystals of salt, is described in old Spanish maps as the *forest* of San Juan de Dios. Perhaps it is now more elevated, and therefore worse watered; or worse watered from any other cause. Trees are occasionally dug up, and converted into charcoal. . . . Growing bushes spread their roots far under the sand, and new tops spring up from this subterranean communication. . . . At Copiapo, cart loads of gigantic tree roots were being drawn through the street. They are found running far underground, following the moisture: though the tops appear to be only low shrubs. The well known law, by which roots and branches follow each other,—the remotest twig letting the drop fall on the spongiolate of the root,—does not apply here; perhaps because nature has placed them in a rainless district. Also, many roots are found in the Cordilleras at camping places, where there is no appearance of vegetation. . . . There was formerly a forest between Tarapaca and Negresos, several

from side to side through the passes of the Andes, find roots of bushes and shrubs in the most sterile places ; and muleteers sometimes carry them upwards of ninety miles, that they may serve as fuel to the miners, encamped in some portion of the great desert of Atacama.*

3. *Sands.*†

The effect of drifting sands on our own coast are as nothing compared with their effects on a coast where sand is the only object visible, except at rare intervals, for nearly 2,000 miles. It is seldom agitated by strong winds ; but such as do occur produce sometimes very curious effects. On the wild journey of about ninety miles, from Islay to Arequipa, the sand is rolled up into a series of crescents, the horns of which are turned from the sea ; and near Caldera on the railway journey to Copiapo, the prevailing direction of the wind is shown by a tail of fine sand, behind each small stone or each tuft of weeds or roots. Some of the effects are such as are unknown or not sufficiently marked to attract attention at home ; yet they are very important as showing us how the prevalence of sand is both a cause and an effect, and what a powerful agent it is.

Tradition, whose records we have no reason to doubt,—and indeed it is confirmed by both historic documents and physical evidence,—informs us, that many places which are now unsightly deserts were once covered with rich vegetation. But the Spaniards, during their rule of nearly two centuries, cut down the trees for fuel in smelting the metals, and the face of the country was at once changed. Rain became less

leagues in length and as many in width ; so that a guide was required by any one crossing it. It was surrounded by fire, and wholly burnt down ; but the roots of the trees are still procured from the ground. Its destruction commenced about forty years ago, and in fifteen years no vestige of it was left except solitary trees. . . . The wood of the subterranean forest was formerly discovered by piercing, and was used in large quantities for boiling the nitrate : but now the coal of Chile is used, and is preferred to every other kind.

* This was the case at the Rio Salado Mine, near Chañaral in North Chile.

† *Transactions*, vol. xviii, (N. S., vi,) p. 27.

frequent, till at last some of the spots became included in that extensive district of the West Coast, where, (as in a much larger area of the Old Continent,) rain never falls. It is said that not far from Iquique in the extreme south of Peru, there is a skeleton forest to be seen: all the trees having been destroyed by the sand which buries several feet of their trunks, yet each still stands on the spot where it grew.* One is prepared to believe this, after seeing the tops of the trees which have been sanded up at the Sniggery Wood† in our own neighbourhood: but the moisture of our climate preserves their vitality, and those whose tops are visible are in full leaf at this moment.‡ The tradition respecting former forests where there are now deserts only, receives further confirmation from the fact that numerous trunks of trees are found beneath the sand. They are detected by iron piercers, just as trees are discovered from time to time in the bogs of this country.

The diminution of rain when the surface has become denuded of trees, is not only a fact of general occurrence, but one of great importance. At this moment Valparaiso is threatened with a want of water, the supply having gradually diminished precisely as building and other operations necessitated the removal of the trees. And the law of change was stated by Mr. Cyril Graham to the Royal Geographical Society,§ in May, 1868. “In all parts of the globe where forests perish, “rain ceases or diminishes in quantity; and desiccation of “course follows. Such a change has occurred not only in

* About twenty leagues off, there is a skeleton forest. It was deprived of water, and the vegetation died out; but there are hundreds, perhaps thousands of the trees still standing with timber undecayed. Some are as thick as a man can embrace, (say six feet in circumference,) but of course no leaf or bud is ever put forth now. Another forest near it is still green. Trees of a more hardy kind can be shown, which have never known water for from ten to fifteen years, except such as falls in the form of dew, or is extracted in moisture from the sand; yet they produce fruit to the present time.—*Diary*.

† *Transactions*, xviii, page 33, No. 6.

‡ 29th July, 1868.

§ *Journal*, xii, 193.

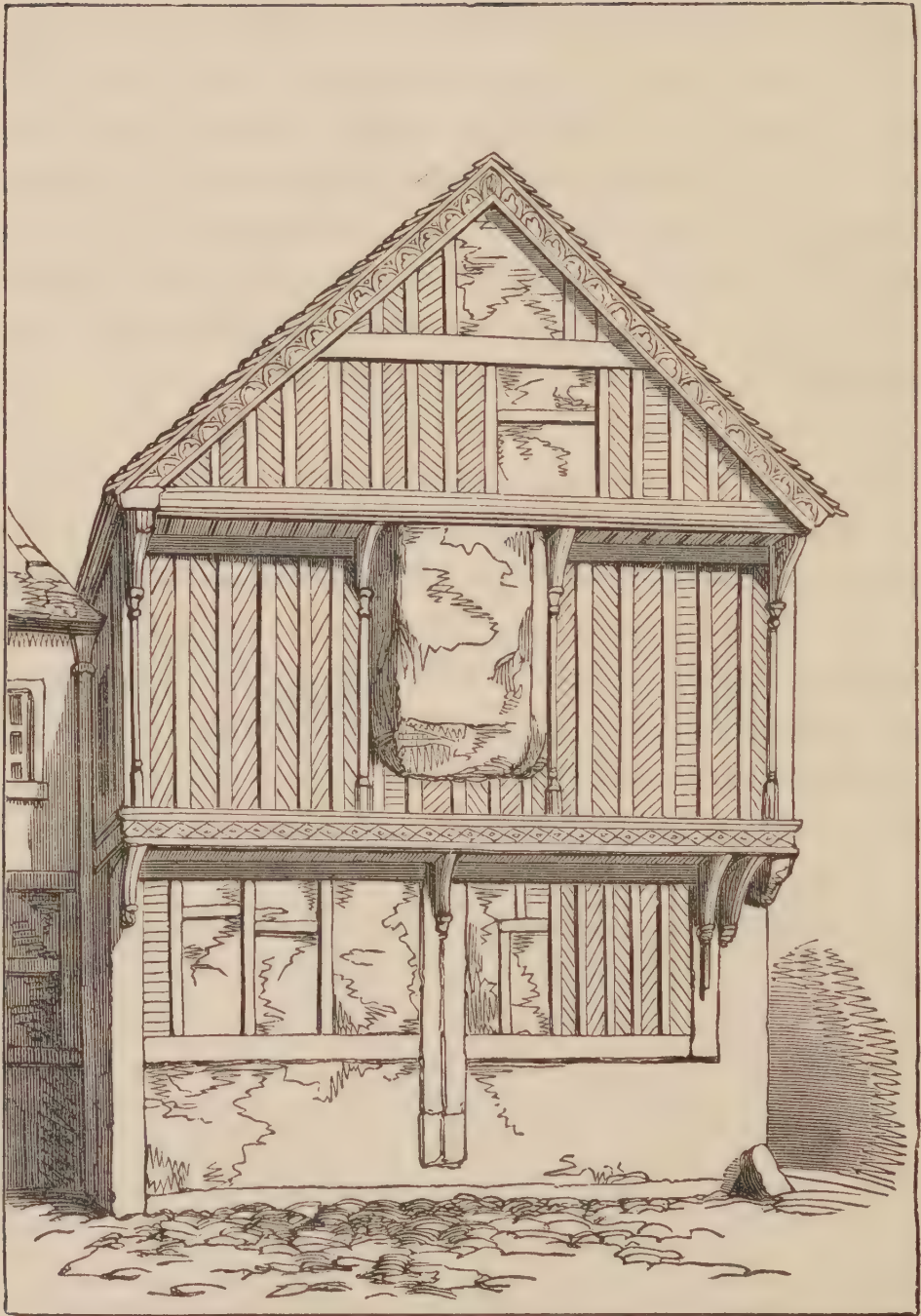
“Sinai, but Central Arabia and Asia,* and many other regions.”

Thus it follows, that in so far as the natural causes correspond with those in our own country, the effects are identical. The doubt which has been entertained respecting the reasons for changes in our own climate, is dispelled by the clearer evidence of other lands. And processes which take place among us so rarely or on so small a scale as to suggest, to the ignorant and sceptical, that they cannot bear the conclusions placed upon them, are of such frequent occurrence or on so large a scale elsewhere, that the inferences assume the form of recognised general laws.

III.—HOUSES.

Heeren assigns as one of the reasons why a greater degree of civilization prevails in Europe, that the climate has compelled the population to live in strong and comfortable houses. This secures to them permanence of locality, and ensures attention to domestic relations. On the contrary, there is comparatively little permanence, and domestic ties are less respected, where houses are rude in appearance and can be rapidly constructed,

* The following was stated by the Rev. H. B. Tristram, at the meeting of the British Association at Norwich :—“ There were several points of great importance, connected with exploration in the East, which bore not only upon Jewish history, but upon Assyrian and Persian history as well. One was, the rapid diminution of population, in the region of Sinai, in consequence of the rapid diminution of rainfall. There was the clearest possible evidence, that the rainfall in former times, was much greater and much more certain than it is at present. With reference to the smelting operations carried on in the district in former times, we found an enormous number of mines, and vast heaps of slag spread all over the country ; showing that the Egyptians or some other people worked very extensively in iron and copper : and he could conceive how rapidly the forests would be denuded for the supply of the amount of wood required for such operations. Again, in southern Judea you would scarcely meet with a shrub, so completely had the country been denuded of wood. It was impossible to travel anywhere without coming upon the ruins of oil presses and wine presses ; and now there was not an olive tree nor a vine to be met with. When we considered the evidence of what the country once was, we might have some idea of what the population was, and of the abundance of the rainfall which they enjoyed. The absence of rain in the present day was exceptional, due entirely to the cutting down of trees ; and the only way of restoring it was by planting trees afresh.”



1. Wooden House at Newbury, Berks ; 15th Century.

or where their shelter is rarely sought except as a protection from heat or showers. Even in countries in such close proximity as France and England, the characteristic difference is felt; as the inhabitant of the former resides more in the open air and feels less the want of a *home*, while the Englishman, and still more the Englishwoman, feels that the locality of all the most sacred ties, the purest enjoyments, and the most interesting associations, is within the domestic threshold. Other lands have their strongholds and fortifications, no doubt, but of England alone it has been said that "Every man's house is his castle."

Among the wandering tribes of the East, who live a great deal in tents, populations increase or diminish with unusual rapidity. Many thousands will visit a sacred place for a few days or weeks in the year, and when the note for departure has sounded will leave none of their number but the sick and aged behind, who are to follow by easy stages. Such gatherings are common in India*; and the periodical visits of the Hebrews to Jerusalem were of the same general kind. From these facts we are supplied with a reason for the rapid development and decay of eastern cities. They were erected of slight and perishable materials; and when their popularity departed, either by the removal of the seat of government or any similar cause, the principal evidences of their existence soon disappeared. But in some instances, as at Nineveh, where there was a settled government and a population with permanent houses, the contrary was the case. The gigantic monuments and the numerous and massive sculptures of the place, are the wonder even of those who live in this remote age and country.

The Jews lived in tents during the forty years in which the old and degraded generation, who had been enslaved in

* Even in Europe, about 270,000 strangers visit the small town of Nijni Novgorod, on the occasion of the annual fair, which is held for eight weeks in the autumn.

Egypt, gradually died off; but their children, although they had been nomadic from their earliest days, erected permanent houses, as soon as they had obtained fixed settlements in Palestine. It was the same with their sacred as with their secular things. For forty years the Ark of the Covenant was a removable tent; but in after ages, David resolved upon, and Solomon carried out, the erection of a permanent temple. And to this day, the feast of tabernacles commemorates the time when their fathers neither required nor possessed permanent houses.

In all the rural parts of North America which I visited, from the Canadian side of Niagara to Richmond, the houses are of wood; and there are not a few of the towns of modern growth, in which not a single residence of more substantial materials could be found. This is easily explained. Wood is abundant; the people of the United States exhibit a marvellous amount of ingenuity, in the construction and use of machinery as applied to the arts; and wooden houses can be constructed and sent in pieces to any part of the world, where they are easily fitted up on the spot selected for them. A very large number of the houses at Aspinwall, including all those belonging to the Railway Company, were brought ready made from New York, and they answer their purpose admirably; while one at Santiago, which is well known as having been the object of a ballot or raffle, might suffice as the residence for a Prince.

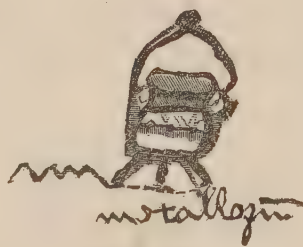
Across the whole of the Isthmus of Panama, which lies within about eight degrees of the equator, the native houses are of the most unsubstantial materials, though there are occasionally heavy rains. A few rude posts or branches form a framework; split cane reeds are placed between these horizontally or perpendicularly, and they are fastened by vegetable cordage more frequently than by nails. A few

rafters are erected on the upper frame, sufficient to sustain a bed of thatch made of palm leaves, and the house is ready. In a large number of instances there is no door; there are no windows of course, but a tropical sun supplies sufficient light through the chinks. There is neither fireplace nor chimney, but two or three stones, anywhere near the centre, show the place of cooking.* There is frequently no division into apartments; and the earthen floor is rudely levelled by a spade, if necessary.

In the towns of Peru, especially those on the sea coast, as Callao, Chorillos, Islay, Arica, and Iquique,† the houses are almost without exception of wood; and as this has to be brought from a distance, they are necessarily expensive. Others are built of the *adobes* or sun-dried bricks of the country; and in some places, where earthquakes are frequent, the lowest story consists of *adobes*, the second of wood, and the third of reeds plastered over. This arrangement secures the largest amount of safety to persons and property.

But the residences of the common people, especially in the rainless districts of Peru and Bolivia, are sometimes flimsy in the extreme. In the village on the north Chincha Island, the governor insists that the houses in the open street shall be of wood, and of late this has been the case. But some of those in the rear would provoke an English gipsy to smile, by their primitive character. The interior walls, and not unfrequently the exterior ones, consist of a piece of sacking

* In other cases, a trivet or tripod is used, such as was common in England four or five centuries ago, and is still known as a *brand-reth*. "*Hec tripes, a burnderthe.*"—*Eng. Vocab. of 15th Cent.* A pot is sometimes employed, such as has been long common in England. The accompanying woodcut is from the *Pictorial Vocabulary* described hereafter. The name *metallum*, is written underneath.



2. Metal Pot.

+ At all of these, the earthquake of the 13th of August last was severely felt; and the last two were almost entirely destroyed.

suspended on poles, or on a string ; and the roof is formed of any material that comes readiest to hand. In not a few instances, it is a series of sheets of corroded tin, which have formed the interior lining of packing cases, and have served as a protection against damp and insects. At the Rio Salado mine, near Chañaral, several of the English workmen had a line of huts built against the side of a hill, and thus a portion of the architecture was saved. The artificial walls were of split cane ; and in one which I entered, the principal articles of furniture were, a bed a box and a table. The interior was hung round with pieces of sacking, to exclude dust. A little south of this, near Pabellon, above Copiapo, there were huts composed of rude walls of stone, each having a screen the size of a quilt fastened by the corners like a square sail, and capable of being slightly altered in position so as to be a protection against the strongest rays of the sun.

Among the Indians of Araucania, the houses do not differ materially from those at Panama, though there is occasionally a severe frost at night, and the country is often soaked with rain in winter, or from May to the end of September. Each is a hut, not a wigwam ; but the reeds which constitute the wall are more closely and regularly placed. In general such houses are filled with smoke in the winter,* and often they are a very inadequate protection against cold and draught. In winter, therefore, there is a great deal of coughing ; and especially among the young, lung diseases are frequent, and there is a great deal of general debility.† One of them which I entered consisted of a single apartment, at least thirty feet long and twenty broad. The interior of the roof was entirely covered

* "The ancients had not chimneys for conveying the smoke through the walls, " as we have ; hence they were much infested with it. Hence also the images " in the wall were called *fumosae*, and the month of December *fumosus*."—*Adam's Roman Antiquities*.

† "As a rule, savages and heathen always die young."—*Professor Rolleston*.

with heads of Indian corn suspended, dry and ready for use. The fire was in the middle of the floor, nearly right between two opposite doors; and the few implements such as the triturating stone, the distaff or spindle and wool, lay on the floor or on a rude shelf. Separations for the women were formed by placing a piece of rush matting on its edge so as to form a semicircle with the wall as its diameter; and the sleeping places of the men were wooden frames, each like the stand for a barrel of ale. A sheepskin was laid on the top; and probably the poncho which was worn all day formed the blanket or covering.*

Perhaps the simplest sort of sleeping place is the *mi-mi* of the Australian native; a single pile of bark, on the lee side of which several "coil," or lie together for natural warmth. Something like it is seen among the tramps or lowest outcasts in our own country, who select the sheltered side of a hay-rick, a field fence, or even a wall.

In the romantic period of English history, to which we

* The readers of Homer will recollect more than one scene of this kind, but one quotation may suffice. It is from *Maginn's Homeric Ballads*, in which a passage from the *Odyssey*, B. xiv, is translated.

He rose as he said,
And laid out a bed,
And sheep skins and goats' by the fireside he spread;
And next, as Odysseus lay down upon these,
He brought a large cloak which he kept for his ease,
To cover his form,
At approach of a storm;
So there lay the hero, all sheltered and warm.

But, even in our own country, until within the last two centuries, the common bed was little better than a "shake-down" of straw, with appropriate coverings. *Strayle* was the name given to a bed covering.—*Promptorium Parvulorum*, p. 478. Carpets of textile fabrics were unknown, but the floor was strewn with rushes; and the annual "rush-bearing" was not a mere commemorative ceremony, as now, but a common domestic arrangement. In the *Semi-Saxon Vocabulary*, *Stramentum* is translated "bedding," and in the *Nominale and Pictorial Vocabulary* "lyttre." This last word is very expressive. The mediæval cradle, as shewn in the *Pictorial Vocabulary* bore a near resemblance to our own. The name *cunia* is written below it. "Credel or cradle . . . *cuna* . . . *Promptorium Parvulorum*."



3. Cradle.

often look back with interest, life in the greenwood was common ;—but in a climate like ours, the halo which has been thrown around it by poetry and tradition is in a great degree deceptive. The writer of “*The Olden Time*” for example, speaks enthusiastically of the period,

“When the outlaw dwelt ’neath the greenwood tree,
Chasing the red deer merrily ;
And England’s bowmen battled stour,
On the fields of Cressy and Agincour.”

Immediately after the Norman Conquest, an unusually large number had their residence in the recesses of the forest ; living of course in humble habitations which were difficult of access, and whose locality was little known. M. Thierry says,—

As to the Anglo Saxons who could not or would not emigrate, many of them sought refuge in the forests with their families ; and if they were rich and powerful, with their servants and vassals. . . . Old narratives and legends, and the popular romances of the English have shed a kind of poetic tint on the character of the bold outlaw, and over the wandering and unrestrained life he led in the green woods and glades.

Another period of residence in the forest, was after 1265 ; when the followers of De Montfort Earl of Leicester who had been vanquished at Evesham, sought refuge from the oppression of Henry III. and his triumphant but unpopular friends. To this period, now just six centuries ago, we may probably assign Robin Hood. He is perhaps little more than an impersonation of the outlaw in general, who was repaid in popular sympathy for the privations which he bore in respect to domestic comforts.* “To the little band,” says an able writer, “who preferred making the ‘shadowy desert’ their dwelling place, the northern mountains and forests, especially

* See the *Robin Hood Ballads* by Ritson ; the Introduction to *Gutch’s Robin Hood* ; and “Introduction to the Robin Hood Ballads,” *Bishop Percy’s Folio Manuscript*, vol. i.

“the latter, afforded the most eligible retreat.” In the summer time, their life was sufficiently agreeable*; and accordingly we find that almost all the adventures of the outlaw and his men took place at that season of the year. A few quotations may suffice to show† this. That they had houses of some sort is evident,‡ not only from the nature of the case, but also from allusions which occur incidentally in the poems.§

Shakspeare, who lived more than three centuries later, was familiar with circumstances virtually the same. It is true that towns, villages, farms, pastures, and factories then covered much of the face of the country, but it is also true that many forests still remained, of less extent in general than in the days of Hereward or Robin Hood, but yet sufficiently large to shelter men of wild habits, or whose appetite for venison was stronger than their regard for the

* In Sweden the residents in towns are in the habit of resorting to the woods in summer, almost in the same way as they visit the sea-side in other countries.

+ “When Phoebus had melted the sickles of ice
And likewise the mountains of snow,
Bold Robin Hood he would wander away
To frolic abroad with his bow.”

“In summer time, when leaves grow green,
And birds sing on every tree,
Robin Hood went to Nottingham
As fast as he could dree.”

“Whan shaws been sheene and schrobbes ful feyre,
And leaves both large and longe,
It’s merrye walkyng in the fayre forest
To heare the small birdes songe.”

“In summer time when leaves are green
And flowers both great and gay.”

“Hit befell at Whitsuntyde
Early on a May mornyng.”

† At the great hunting-parties in the Highlands, hundreds of men were (and it may be still are) accustomed to live out of doors during the whole of August and perhaps part of September. Taylor the water poet attended such a hunting in the seventeenth century, and he says—“I was for the space of twelve days, after [leaving an old castle in Braemar,] “before I saw either house or corn-field, “or habitation for any creature but deer, wild horses, wolves, and such like “creatures,—w^h made me doubt that I should never have seen a house again.”

§ They brought hym unto the lodge dore
When Robyn hym gan se.

laws of property. His own biography exhibits something more than mere sympathy for their illegal practices; and numerous allusions in his writings show how thoroughly he understood the nature of life in the forest. The last couplet in Ariel's song* no doubt expresses a popular sentiment,—

“ Merrily, merrily shall I live now,
Under the blossom that hangs on the bough.”

But in *As You Like It*, where the forest of Arden forms part of the scene, we notice a little more of life in the green-wood. If we regard the grades of civilization as three in number, the mere hunter is at the bottom, the shepherd in the middle, and the agriculturist (including the manufacturer, trader, &c.) at the top.† But in every country, there are thriftless idlers who prefer ease and independence to industry and abundance; and some of them are sketched in the song of Jacques.‡

“ Who doth ambition shun,
And loves to live i' the sun,
Seeking the food he eats,
And pleased with what he gets,
Come hither, come hither, come hither;
Here shall he see
No enemy,
But winter and rough weather.”

The popular opinion may also be gathered from a remark by Charles the wrestler. “They say the old duke is already in the forest of Arden, and a many merry men with him; and there they live like the old Robin Hood of England; they say many young gentlemen flock to him every day: and fleet the time carelessly as they did in the golden world.”

It was impossible to prevent the mind from glancing at thoughts of this kind, as I rode silently beside my companion

* *Tempest*, v, 1.

† Mr. Hepworth Dixon, *On the Great Prairies, and the Prairie Indians*.

‡ Act ii, Scene 5.

through the primitive woods of Araucania. Hill and valley, plateau and elevated sea-beach, presented scarcely an indication of the presence of man. The track along the green sward had been marked out by the feet of oxen, and by the unshod wooden wheels of timber carriages; the brilliant sunshine and pure air imparted new life to the harrassed dweller in towns; and no habitation was visible, though there might have been two or three nestling in the bushes a few perches from the track. Scarcely even the note of a bird broke the complete, yet in no way unpleasant, stillness which reigned around. In all the circumstances, and in part of the train of thought awakened by them, I should scarcely have been startled at hearing a bugle note sounded, or at seeing a ranger,* clothed in green, emerge from the thicket to the glade.

In our own country, the mediæval houses of the wealthy were composed in a great degree of wood. This was found in the adjoining forest; and so abundant was it that oak, which is more excellent than other kinds of timber, was largely employed.† We have still a few wooden

* In the *Pictorial Vocabulary*, one of the rude drawings represents a "*Lucarius* or Foster," that is to say a forester. But his specific duties are better represented in the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, thus: "Wodewarde, "or walkare in a wode "for kepynge, *Lucarius*."



4. Woodward, or Forest-ranger.

† It seems, however, that willow, which was more abundant than oak and more easily worked, had been extensively employed, previous to oak. Also, chimneys appear to have been unknown in the olden time. A writer in 1598 remarks—"When our houses were built of willow, we had oaken men, but now that our houses are come to be made of oak, our men are not only become willow, but "a great many altogether of straw."

churches in England, and the local name Woodchurch, once much more prevalent than at present, shows that in mediæval times they were much more numerous. Now if a building which is erected for the people of all time who may surround it, be made of such perishable materials, it is not surprising that ordinary residences, designed in the first instance to serve the wants of the generation who reared them, were of wood also. Numerous houses, not more than three centuries old, are scattered over the country, the whole internal fittings and partition walls of which are of oak.

There are many and clear facts to show that our old English houses were built of wood. In the first place we have a pen and ink drawing of one in the *Pictorial Vocabulary**



5. "Domus" or House :—15th century.

of the fifteenth century, the original MS of which is in the possession of Lord Londesborough. The building is evidently constructed of wood, with strong beams at the corners, and posts with cross laths intermediate. The door

* This and other quotations are from "*A volume of Vocabularies, from the tenth century to the fifteenth.*" 1857. Edited by Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., and privately printed at the expense of Joseph Mayer, Esq., F.S.A. Sometimes the quotation is from one of the various authors; but in less important cases the page only, of the whole collection, is referred to.

is of solid timber, but the two windows, one in each gable, appear to be of lattice-work. There is no chimney; but two small wooden crosses decorate the gables.* We might have inferred as much, when we find in *Alfric's Colloquies* the *Lignarius* or tree-wright arguing that he cannot be dispensed with by society, because with other useful things he constructs houses;† and in his *Vocabulary*, the Archbishop gives as the equivalent for *Aedificium* “getymbrung,” (a timber structure.)‡

In the *Treatise of Walter de Bibbesworth*, of the thirteenth century, the process of building a house is given in ancient French verse, with English words occasionally interlined;§ and there are numerous lists of the parts of a house, both as regards the materials employed and the division of the space included. There was occasionally a “grund-weal” (*fundamentum*,) that is, a foun-

* *Mayer's Vocabularies*, p. 260. — It will be observed that both gables are shown, owing to an error on the part of the sketcher. The same occurs in the representation of a book; both ends of which are shown. The name is written along with it as usual. It exhibits both bosses and clasps.



6. Book; illustrating the error in perspective.

se treo.wyrhta	segth	hwile	eower	ne	notath craefte	minon	thonne
† Lignarius	dicit:	Quis	vestrum	non	utitur arte	mea	cum
hus	and mistlice	fata	and scypa	eow eallum	ic wyrce		
domos,	et diversa	vasa,	et naves,	omnibus	fabrico?	— <i>Mayer's Vocab.</i> , p. 11.	

‡ Mr. Wright remarks on a portion of *Alfric's Vocabulary*, “This humble enumeration of the parts of a common dwelling-house, posts, rafters, laths, a roof, and a floor, (it is evidently supposed to be built of nothing but timber,) offers a strong contrast with the elaborate details in the later *Vocabularies*.”

	the balkes
§ Sus la mesere,	les trays mettet,
	raftres
De dous cheverouns	un couple facez.
Le ferm estera	sur le mesere,
	pyn and wymble (nauger)
Par kyvyl et	par terere.

Mayer's Vocab., p. 170.

section,* is that of the well-known "Jack of Newbury" or John Winchcombe. It is thus described by Mr. Edward Roberts.

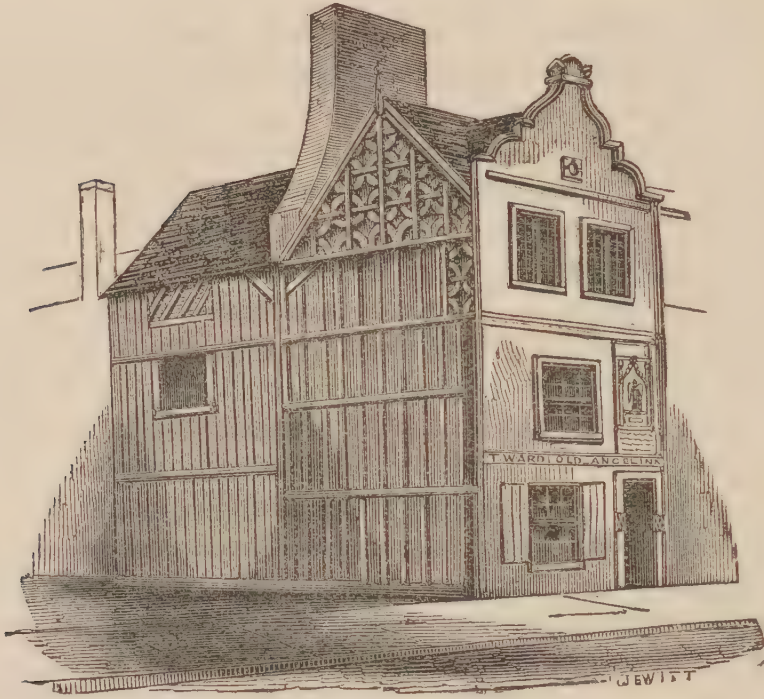
"Several remnants of the ancient timber structure and "exquisite foliated carvings have been destroyed, and nothing "now is to be seen except the gable end shown in the plate. "This is at the north-west angle of the pile of buildings, "adjoining the main street, the face next which has been "re-built, and a modern shop front inserted, the entablature "showing sufficiently to mar the effect of the ancient work. "The substructure is of quite new brickwork, the timber "having been displaced; but with the exception of the plaster "covering to the oriel window, all the remainder is of ancient "construction, although not all of the same date or character; "the verge-board, for instance, is of much earlier date than "the other carvings, and may have been brought from some "former building; and its comparative state of decay corroborates the suggestion. The whole framework is in oak, "and in the main is still perfectly sound. The herring-bone "brickwork is not coeval with the timbering; but it is quite "clear that, as was usual, the timbers have always been "exposed externally. There is no evidence forthcoming of "the date of the erection of this remnant. It can hardly "have been built by John Winchcombe; for on close examination it bears the impress of earlier years than Henry "VII, and is most likely to be of about the middle of the "fifteenth century. The oriel window cannot be seen in "any way; the inside, although many of the timbers are "visible, having been carefully boarded or cemented in, and "the oriel itself converted into a cupboard."

It was at this house that Mr. Winchcombe or "Jack" entertained Henry VIII and Queen Katherine. He was "a "celebrated clothier, distinguished by his opulence and no "less by his patriotism."

Another house, partially of wood, is shown in the annexed engraving. It represents the old Angel Hotel in Derby, which was known as a "hostelrie" so early as 1645. In 1836, the "Old Rodney," another noted inn next door, was taken down, and in the process, the timber end of the Angel

* Figure 1.

was exposed to view for a short time. That is the portion which is shewn in the engraving.*



8. The Angel Hotel, Derby.

Sir William R. Wilde notices that log houses were in use among the Ancient Celtic Irish ; and he refers especially to one which is in the possession of the Royal Irish Academy, made of solid oak, and found buried in a bog in the County of Donegal.† In connexion with this it may be mentioned that in 1513, the Borough Moor at Edinburgh was a “ field

* *Reliquary*, vol. vii, pp. 178, 179.

† It was discovered in 1833, (see *Archæologia*, xxvi, 361,) it was a square structure, twelve feet wide and nine feet high. The material consisted of rough blocks and planks of oak, which had been cut and shaped with stone axes and chisels, one of which was found on the floor, and corresponded with the marks on the timbers. There were two apartments, one above the other, each four feet high ; and the chinks in the floor were filled with a paste, apparently composed of grease and fine sea sand. The stratum of bog on which it stood was fifteen feet deep ; and before its erection there had been spread over this a layer of fine sand and a bedding of hazel bushes. In 1833, the top of the house was fourteen feet below the surface of the bog ; so that the material must have grown nearly twenty-six feet since the house was occupied. A flint arrow-head, a wooden sword, and part of a sandal of leather were found within the house ; and near it a causeway, a fire-place, charred timber, and numerous broken nut shells.

“spacious and delightful, by the shade of many stately and “aged oaks ;” but it was so great a nuisance as a forest, that the citizens were encouraged to build wooden galleries, projecting over the street, in order to get rid of the timber. It further appears, from Sir W. R. Wilde’s narrative, that a “bird-cage wooden house” was taken down in Dublin in 1813 ; and another in Drogheda in 1824. The latter bore an inscription to the effect that it had been erected by Hiv Mor *carpenter*, in 1570. This was in the early part of the reign of Elizabeth.

One portion of the mediæval house is frequently mentioned, viz., the “pentice.” This is otherwise called the “eskyng,” in provincial dialects the “easing,” and in pure English the “eaves.” The pentice (sometimes called “penthouse,”) appears to have been originally a shed or projection over an outer door or a window, and then to have passed along the whole side wall, and—in the absence of gutters and spouts—to have thrown the rain which fell on the roof clear of the wall. It was the incipient idea which results in the verandah ; without which the people of South America say the wooden houses will hardly last half the usual time.*

Midway between these and houses of brick and stone were the frame houses, sometimes called “black and white,” “half-timber,” and “post and petrel.” These are found in the oldest parts of several of our towns and cities ; and they are unusually abundant in Cheshire, and in the adjoining portions of Lancashire and Staffordshire. The whole frame of the house, in such a case, is of solid beams of timber, of the thickness of the intended wall ; and the interstices, except at the places designed for doors and windows, are then filled up with brick or stone work. But the liability of whole or

* From an incidental allusion in *Roger Ascham’s Toxophilus*, we find that old houses, like old shoes, were not worth repairing. This may account for the thorough disappearance of so many. He says “peced bowes be mucche lyke owlde “housen, whyche be more chargeable to repayre than commodiouse to dwell in.”

partial wooden houses to take fire, in spite of all the laws on the subject, including that of the curfew, was a strong reason for their gradual disuse. The same facts have occurred at Aspinwall, on the Atlantic side of the Isthmus of Panama. Two destructive fires have shown that though wooden houses are sometimes very convenient, they are subject to unusual dangers.

From what we read of the residences of the common people in these countries three or four centuries ago, and from what we know of the lowest class of habitations now, it is clear that the condition of the residents must have been far from comfortable. The state of the mere peasant must have been low indeed, when the border squire lived in a "peel" with an outer stair; his cattle on the ground floor, his one "living room" over that, and the one sleeping apartment at the top; with open windows or at best some rude lattice work, and the roof covered with stone and overgrown with grass like the arch of a disused bridge. The Irish cabin of sods, with an opening scarcely four feet high, and possibly with one small window for light, or perhaps the Highland bothie, may be regarded as a type of the residences of the common people.

In the work known as the *Down Survey*, prepared by Sir William Petty in 1655 and 1656, we have a picture of great interest, of Ireland two centuries ago. In the parish of Dromore, which till 1842 was the seat of a bishop, and which is thirty-two square miles in extent; there was not a formal house to be seen except in the town, though there were numerous inhabitants. He says, "there's no buildings in this Parish only at Dromore, it beinge a markett hath some old thatch^t houses, and a ruined church standing in it: what other buildings there are in this Parish *are nothing*

“*but removable Creachts.*”* In the adjoining parish of “Anakelt,” “*there’s noe buildings here but Creachts.*” These were huts of hurdle work, or constructed of posts and wattles ; so that by pulling up the stakes inserted at the extremities, the whole side wall or gable, such as it was, could be taken up and carried to another spot for re-erection. It was perhaps pasted over with clay, in which moss or dried grass† was then inserted while it was wet and plastic. Sir William R. Wilde, in his *Catalogue of the Antiquities in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy*, in describing the entrenched forts known as raths, duns, lisses, &c., adds as follows:—“The people resided in wooden houses or huts constructed of wattles and tempered clay, within these enclosures ; or in small stone habitations, where such material abounded.”‡

It is hard to say whether the cabin or the *creacht* denoted a lower stage of civilization ; but a decided improvement upon both was the mud-wall cottage. In the construction of it, posts are stuck in the ground, at the distance from each other of two or three feet ; ropes of straw are then interlaced, as the rods were in the houses of hurdle work ; and with this for a guide, walls of about nine inches in thickness are built up of clay, each piece as large as an ordinary brick. Spaces are left for doors and windows in the usual way, and then the roof is formed, as in the case of stone and lime houses, by coupling beams, purlins, rafters, *scraws*, and thatch. In the better sort of houses of this class, the walls are then covered by rough-cast and whitewash. The “scraw” is a roll of turf taken from a pasture field ; and as it is held together

* Irish *creatach*, Lat. *crates*, Eng. *crate*. See *Wedgwood’s Dictionary of English Etymology*.

† Sir Walter Scott represents Friar Tuck’s lodge as something of this kind. “At the bottom of the rock, and leaning as it were against it, was constructed a rude hut, built chiefly of the trunks of trees felled in the neighbouring forest ; and secured against the weather by having its crevices stuffed with moss mingled with clay.”—*Ivanhoe*.

‡ *Catalogue*, &c., p. 102.

by the roots of grass and other vegetables, it is like a vast "scroll"* of paper or a piece of carpet, though really more than two inches thick.

But there are evidences that *creachts* were in use in the less civilized parts of Ireland, and probably in Wales, at a much more recent period; and also that they were not unknown in England, at a more remote period, and even in neighbouring parts of Lancashire. On the 24th of June, 1856, the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire made an excursion to Preston, and a trench was dug in the Castle Hill, Penwortham. A broad piece of wicker work, apparently of hazel, was there exposed to view, the use of which was unknown; but which I am now satisfied was a portion of a wicker hut that had stood upon the hill. The remains of its inhabitants probably rest near it; all traces of them have been obliterated however, in the changes and improvements of intervening centuries. Further, in the *Vocabulary of Archbishop Alfric*, of the tenth century, we find enumerated among the parts of a house, "*Cleta, cratis,† hyrdel.*"

But we can look still further back to the lake habitations of Switzerland, briefly described in *Ancient Meols*. Fragments of



9. Lacustrine Habitations, Switzerland; showing the construction of wicker work.

* "*Scraw*" is the Scottish form of scroll, as *pow* is of poll, and *knowe* of knoll. It is presumable therefore that the practice travelled to Ireland from Scotland.

+ *Mayer's Vocab.*, p. 26.

them have been discovered in the *débris* of the lakes, and it is found that they consisted of basket work. They were in fact *creaghts*. Also, from the curvature of the pieces, the diameter of the houses has been ascertained ; and a devoted antiquary has re-constructed on paper, in a manner at once ingenious and probable, an entire settlement of these strange people of whom we yet know so little.*

In the delta of the Orinoco, there are extensive low grounds which are flooded during the rainy season ; but they produce numerous trees on the fruits of which an aboriginal tribe was found to subsist. They were accustomed during the innundations, to erect scaffolds or platforms among the branches, and on these they lived till the waters abated. In the early days of maritime and inland discovery, the Europeans supposed that they lived on these scaffolds throughout the year, as we know that the people of the Lake Habitations and of the Irish crannogues did. They were aware that Venice was a city on the waters ; and accordingly they named the region *Venezuela*, or little Venice, and by this name it is known to the world.

A new mode of erecting houses has of late attracted attention, and it promises to be of great use, especially where light or temporary residences are required. A quantity of straw, arranged and pressed, of about the size of an ordinary door, is submitted to a large sewing machine, and is so firmly bound together that it becomes a hard unyielding mass. This is then covered on all sides with a preparation like asphalt, until it assumes the appearance of a solid slab of stone, or covered wood. Numbers of these are easily joined together ; they are equally suitable for walls partitions or roofs ; and it is said that they are not merely cheap and durable, but that they admit of ornamentation or repair, and are easily cleaned.

* Troyon's *Habitations Lacustres ; Ancient Meols*, p. 372.

This is a great improvement, certainly, upon the Lake Habitations and the Irish *Creachts*.

IV.—CLOTHING.

I have no doubt that flax and hemp are produced somewhere along the West Coast : but none came under my own observation. Animal and vegetable substances, however, yield a large amount of materials ; and commerce has placed within reach of the people the whole of the productions of Europe. Not only are these largely employed, therefore, but even European fashions in dress are followed by many. Still, the native customs are currently in use, and native manufactures are employed, one reason being that textile fabrics from England France and Germany are costly. Probably I will not exaggerate when I say that the average price of English manufactured goods is about three times as great as at home.

Of vegetable products, there are the well known Panama hats, the majority of which, however, are manufactured at Guayaquil ; and of the same material cigar cases are manufactured, both of which sometimes reach fabulous prices. On the other hand, I have seen in the market-place of Conception hats sold for about three halfpence each. They are made like our coarsest straw hats, only of dried rushes ; they are thicker than hats of straw, more easily made, and I should think more durable. Of vegetable cordage, hammocks are made ; and these are a sort of necessity of the climate. Their use is common in the warmest regions ; but I did not notice them further south than Islay and Arica.

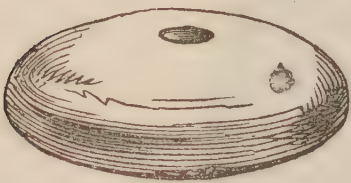
As the rearing of animals is common, so the production of skin is abundant. This is employed for a great variety of purposes unknown among us, as cases for the large packages of *maté* or South American tea ; baskets for bringing up the copper ore from the mines, in which case the hide



10. Bag, for Maize-meal or Tobacco.
From the Graves of the Dead, Arica.

covers a frame of iron; and bags for carrying the ore. The hides of animals are also used for external trousers when it is necessary to ride long journeys; and on the East Coast the gauchos draw the skin of a horse's hinder leg over their own thigh leg and foot, and when it is dried it appears like an outer skin of their own, rather than an article of clothing.

Wool is comparatively common, not only of the sheep of the country, but also of the llama the alpaca and the vicuña. The wool of this last animal is rare and small in amount; it



11. Spindle Whorl; Pottery.

is also remarkably fine and silky to the touch, and is therefore expensive. The process of manufacture throws us back to primitive times in our own country; and is somewhat like the following.

The wool is spun without the intervention of any machinery, but by the simple spindle and whorl.* Numerous specimens of the latter implement, the *spindelstein* of the Germans, are procured



12. Spindle Whorl; Lead.

in almost all great finds of antiquities†; because it was made of some hard material, and therefore is

* These whorls are found among the remains of people of the Stone period, or to whom metal was unknown; they are also found among the remains of all more recent communities.—In our old English writers, the term occurs under a variety of forms; but the chief one is that found in the *Pictorial Vocabulary*, viz., “*Vertebrum*, a aworowylle.” “*Vertebrum* dicitur *vertel*, scilicet illud quod pendet in fuso.—*John de Garlande*. There is a prominent notice of it, as of many other instruments, in *Gwillim's Heraldry*. “This spindle differeth much from those preceding, in respect to the crook above, and of the *wharrow* impressed upon the lower part thereof. This sort the spindle women do use most commonly to spin withal, at a distaff put under their girdle, so as they oftentimes spin therewith going. The round ball at the lower end serveth to the fast twisting of the thread, and is called a *wharrow*.”—*Gwillim*, p. 300.

† They are found among the remains of the pile-houses in Switzerland; showing that spinning and weaving were well known to the inhabitants. It has been shown that they were also sometimes used as buttons. Some have been found recently in the remains of huts of the primitive inhabitants of Anglesea, at Holyhead; and they have been described by the Hon. W. Owen Stanley, M.P., and Albert Way, Esq.

almost imperishable.* In our own country, the distaff was used



13. Reel.

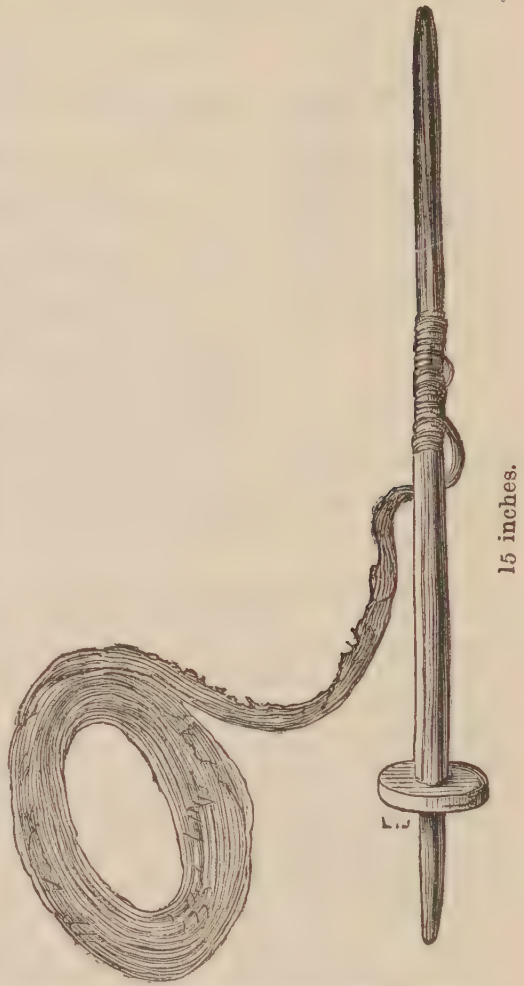
for the purpose of containing the material to be spun, and it is so to this day in other countries. It was a stick which passed under the right arm, and frequently under the girdle; and on its top was fastened the flax or wool to be spun. It was succeeded by the "rock," which formed a part of the spinning wheel.† In connexion with this subject, it may be interesting to see the

domestic reel of the fifteenth century, taken from the *Pictorial Vocabulary*, "*Hoc alabrum*, a rele."

* "The spindle was a round stick or metal rod. When the thread was sufficiently twisted, it was wound upon this, as coarse bands are still when made in cottages from tow or wool. When the spindle was pretty well filled, it was necessary to prevent the thread from becoming unravelled through shuffling down from the centre to the end. A knob was placed on one end, therefore, of wood, stone, or metal; which fixed the centre of gravity, and served the same purpose as the end of a spool or bobbin. Large numbers of flat and round stones, varying from an inch to two inches in diameter, are found where antiquities are usually procured, and their uses were long unknown. It was generally supposed that they were amulets; but the opinion now is that they were used on the spindle. Examples occur frequently in tumuli of the North of Europe, of France, Germany, and in almost all parts of Great Britain and Ireland. The proper name has been already applied—spindle-whorl."—*Spinning and Weaving. Ulster Journal.*

† "In our old English literature, the distaff is alluded to as an ordinary instrument; and the subject of spinning is mentioned in a connection in which no other instrument could have suited. Thus Shakspeare, in the *Twelfth Night*, uses the expression 'it hangs like flax on a distaff,' and the adoption of such a simile shows that the fact must have been a common one. But long before, if we may credit the *Robin Hood Ballads*,—which celebrated, probably in the fifteenth century, the deeds of outlaws of the thirteenth,—the use of the distaff is indicated. In the ballad of 'Robin Hood and the Bishop,' the former is represented as changing clothes with an old woman, and taking the instruments of her industry, 'the spindle and twine' with him, to the greenwood. It is said, that 'with his spindle and twine he oft looked behind;' so that the flax, the thread, and the distaff, were obviously borne about like the yarn, needles, and work of a modern knitter. The distaff was afterwards spoken of figuratively; and Dunbar, a Scottish poet of the close of the fifteenth century, speaks of wives spinning on "rocks." The instrument is still commonly used in many places on the continent of Europe. In the English exhibition of the French School of Fine Arts [1857], the distaff was figured by Isidore Patrois and Constant Troyon. The latter represented a loop on the dress to confine it to the body. The term 'distaff' is derived from the Saxon, and appears to be of purely English origin; while "rock" reaches us from North Britain, and is derived from the Scandinavian branch of the Teutonic family of languages."—*Ulster Journal.*—One of the double pictures,

I saw no appearance of a distaff where the spindle was used ; but the Indian woman placed a coil of the “roving” of wool round her right or left wrist, and thus had the supply of her material literally “at hand.” Though I wrote two essays* on spinning and weaving, ten years ago, (some passages from which have just been quoted,) there was one part which I could not understand, nor could any one who had seen the operation give me definite information respecting it. This was, how the thread which had been already spun was kept from raveling, while the spindle was whirled round to twist a new portion ; for it is clear that



14. Spindle, Whorl, Roving, and Thread.

the finished portion of the thread should be isolated in some way from the unfinished portion. In practice, this is done in two ways. (1) A slit is made in the top of the spindle, or perhaps at one side, and the finished portion of the thread is drawn tightly through this. The result is, that the twisted portion is separated by this “clip” or holder, and that the twisting can extend only to the new portion of the thread, viz., to that which is between this notch and the fingers of the spinner

such as used to be common in Bible illustrations, is contained in the Cottonian MSS. On one side of it an angel hands a spade to Adam and a distaff to Eve ; on the other the implements are in use, and we see that “Adam delved and Eve “span.”—*Knight's Pictorial England*, i, 286.

* *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, v, pp. 92–110, 169–185.

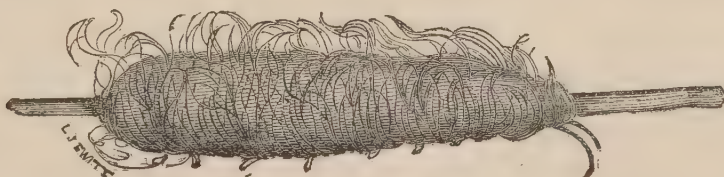
near the roving. (2) The spun portion is looped over the top of the spindle, as is usual when spindle and wool are laid aside for the time, and thus the ravelling process is prevented, while the twisting is confined to the part which requires it. (3) The same effect would be produced by inserting a pin into the spun coil, so as to hold down the last of the finished thread; but in the localities to which I now refer, wire pins are scarcely known.

The same practice has no doubt prevailed from the earliest times; for in the graves of the dead at Arica, the spindle is



15, Spindle and Whorl, from the Graves at Arica.—7 inches.

found by the side of a dead woman who had twirled it perhaps a century or two before the arrival of Pizarro and his Spaniards.* One of these I procured, and also a delicate spindle on which the thread still remains, apparently cotton.



16. Spindle with Thread, from the Graves at Arica.—6 inches.

In connexion with this, an incident occurred which shows the jealous disposition of the Indian people. I was very anxious to become the possessor of the first spindle and wool

* As the idea of immortality, held by all heathen nations has ever been this present life slightly diversified, so the implements of war and the chase were placed in the grave of the man, and the objects of household toil in that of the woman. Even the domestic animals were supposed capable of re-appearing; and hence the horse or the dog was frequently interred with his master.

“Yet simple nature to his hope has given
 “Behind the cloud-topp’d hill, an humbler Heaven;
 “Some safer world, in depth of woods embraced,
 “Some happier island in the watery waste;
 “He thinks, admitted to that equal sky
 “His faithful dog shall bear him company.”—*Pope*.

which I saw, and generously, but unwisely, offered the woman a piece of silver for it, many times its value. Her suspicions were roused that I wanted it for some unusual purpose, perhaps for witchcraft, and she would then not allow me to have it on any terms. It was said that a small piece of tobacco would have secured it at once; but, as neither my companion nor I possessed this substance in any form, we found it impossible to trade. The one which I possess was procured afterwards at Santa Juana on the south bank of the river Bio Bio, in the interior of the country; through the intervention of a Spanish friend.

But it is not the wool only which they are accustomed to spin. They buy up our English baize, of the colours which suit their purpose, and ravel the cloth to the extent of several yards. They then spin the yarn over again, making it much more hard and wiry, and more resembling the thread from flax. It is in this form much more suitable for producing their own textile fabrics, though of course they wear our cloth in numerous instances. Among the Indians of Araucania, a bright red and a dark blue are the two principal colours, the women being partial to the former and the men to the latter; but for the purposes of variety and ornament, there is little or no limit in the choice of colours.

Dr. Kitto instructs us as to the occupations of the Hebrew women; and there are many passages in the Scriptures confirmatory of his remarks. "Working with the needle" occupied much of their time; and it would seem that not "only their own clothes, but those of the men were made by" the women. Some of the needlework was very fine and "much valued. The women appear to have spun yarn for" all the cloth that was in use, and much of the weaving

“seems to have been executed by them.* The tapestries “for bed coverings were probably produced in the loom, and “appear to have been much valued.”† Even in the Mosaic record, we read frequently of spinning;‡ and elsewhere of weaving;§ both processes being performed by women.—The same facts generally existed in Egypt, though perhaps the labour was not confined so exclusively to one sex. In “the “burden of Egypt” given by the prophet Isaiah,|| allusion is made to them “that work in fine flax,” and “that weave net “works.”—The Philistine women also appear to have understood weaving, for Delilah wove the locks of Samson as a matter of course.—In ancient Greece, “the most common “employments of women were spinning and weaving, and “making all sorts of embroidery and needlework. Instances “of this nature are too numerous to be recited;¶ for so “constantly were they taken up in these businesses, that “most houses where there was any number of women had

* The virtuous woman “seeketh wool and flax, and worketh diligently with “her hands. . . . She layeth her hands to the spindle, and her hands hold the “distaff. . . . She is not afraid of the snow for her household; for all her household are clothed with scarlet [double garments.] . . . She maketh herself “coverings of tapestry; her clothing is silk and purple. . . . She maketh fine “linen and selleth it, and delivereth girdles to the merchant.”—Prov. xxxi.—The term *drugget*, said to be derived from Drogheda, indicates properly a peculiar mixture of “wool and flax.” But even this was not unknown to our ancestors, for Alfric gives “*Linostema*, linen wearp, *vel* wyllen ab” (weft.) Also, in the *Nominale* we read, “*Lymphum*, est p[annus] ex line et lana contextus.”—*Mayer's Vocab.*, pp. 40, 243.

+ *Cyclopedia of Biblical Literature*; Art. “Woman.”

† “All the women that were wise-hearted did spin with their hands.”—*Exod.* xxxv, 25.

§ “The women wove hangings for the grove.”—2 *Kings* xxiii, 7.

|| Isa. xix, 19.

¶ Her royal hand a wondrous work designs,
Around a circle of bright damsels shines,
That twist the thread, and part the wool dispose,
While with the purple orb the spindle glows.

Pope's Homer, Ody. vi, 371.

Behind him, diligently close he sped,
As closely following as the running thread,
The spindle follows, and displays the charms
Of the fair spinster's breast, and moving arms.

Ib., Il. xxiii, 890.

“rooms set apart for this end.”*—“The ancient Romans
“used every method to encourage domestic industry in
“women. Spinning and weaving† constituted their chief
“employment.”‡

In our own country, before the invention of modern machinery, the employment of women in the production of the lighter sort of fabrics was common :§ and I have myself seen, within the last few years, women engaged in weaving both cotton and silk in “hand looms.” But even if the practice had become wholly extinct among us, the record of it survives in the structure of our language, as *spin-ster* and *web-ster* are both indicative of the feminine gender, though their expressive terminations have long ceased to be recognised popularly in their proper signification.|| A modern German

* *Potter's Grecian Antiquities.*

+ When young and old in circle, around the firebrands close ;
When the girls are weaving baskets, and the lads are shaping bows ;
When the goodman mends his armour, and trims his helmet's plume ;
The good wife's shuttle merrily goes flashing through the loom.

Macaulay's Lays of Anc. Rome.

‡ *Adam's Roman Antiquities.*

§ As in the Roman houses just noticed, so a woman's room was common in our own country among the Saxons, and on the Continent among the Franks. In *Alfric's Vocabulary* we have “*Genitium* [*i.e. gunæcaum* or the apartment of the women,] “a tow-hus of wulle.” The editor remarks, “The term was preserved “in the mansions of the great, and was applied to the room in which the maidens “attached to the noble lady's household were assembled, in the various employ-
“ments peculiar to them, such as the various branches of spinning, weaving, “embroidering, &c., of which the lord made a profit.” Immediately after the term *Genitium* in the *Vocabulary* follow the words belonging to weaving, and women's domestic employments.—Also, the Robin Hood ballads say of the outlaw's mother—

She got on her holiday kirtle and gown,
They were of a light Lincoln green ;
The cloth was homespun, but for colour and make
It might have beseemed a queen.

|| Spinner, spinster ; webber (weaver), webster ; seamer (tailor), seamster ; baker, baxter ; brewer, brewster ; songer (singer), songster ; drugger, drugster ; punner, punster ; tapper, tapster ; shipper, shipster ; malter, maltster. The word “seam-*str-ess*” is therefore a double feminine. In the Latin and Saxon vocabularies, ranging in antiquity over five centuries, we find such words as the following, the Latin form being preceded by the feminine “*Hec*.” *Pectrix*, a kembster ; *Scutrix*, a sewster ; *Palmaria*, a brawdster (a measurer by the hand?) ; *Salinaria*, a saltster ; *Siccatrix*, a dryster ; *Auxiatrix*, a huxter ; *Lectrix*, a “raedistre” ; *Fidicina*, “fithelestre” (a female fiddler) ; *Saltatrix*,

poet, too, has given us a picture of domestic life in his own country:—drawing, apparently, from the description of the virtuous woman in the Book of Proverbs.*

Alexander Neckham, in his treatise *De Utensilibus*, written in the twelfth century, shows us something of the nature of the English loom of the period. He compares the weaver to a horseman, the treadles being his stirrups, with the peculiarity that one is elevated while the other is depressed, like the sides of Fortune's wheel. But John de Garlande, writing a century later, distinctly represents the weavers as women: and refers to a different portion of the process. "*Textrices*† "ducunt pectines cum trama, que trahitur a spola et pano. "*Ipsa testrix* percutit tramam cum lama, et volvit spolam "in troclea, et tela ductione filorum et globorum ordinatur."

In weaving, the Indian women operate as was usual in all the countries of the Old World. Such a thing as a web or

"hlaepestre" (a female leaper or posturer); *Matatrix*, a "hokylster" (a female heckler); *Citharista*, a hearpestre ("harpress," *Scott*); and *Textor, rix*, webba, webbstre. Sometimes, from the structure of the word, the feminine termination was inconvenient; and thus we have such terms as the following,—the termination "wife" meaning (like house-wife, mid-wife, "ale-wife," "egg-wife," "spae-wife,") nothing more than woman. *Poticaria*, a spyser wyfe; *Fistilatrix*, a piper-wyfe; *Caupana*, a taverner wyffe; *Fabrissa*, a smyth-wyfe; *Kustica*, a feldman-wyfe. So exclusively was spinning a woman's work, that the distinctive term which has proved the most enduring in our language, was not always thought necessary. Hence we read "*Filiatrix*, a spynnere."—*Pictorial Vocab.* It follows also that the term *Deem-ster* used in the Isle of Man is a misnomer.

* She winds round the spindle
The threads at her leisure,
And fills odoriferous
Coffers with treasure;
And storeth the shining receptacles full
Of snowy white linen and pale-coloured wool;
And blends with the useful the beauteous and pleasing,
And toils without ceasing.

Mangan's Schiller. (Lay of the Bell.)

† The Websters draw combs ["reeds"] along with the weft, which is detached from a spool and axis, ["quill" and "shuttle-pin."] The webster herself strikes the weft with the slay, and turns the "quill" on the roller; and the web is composed by this conveying of the threads and clews.—This reminds one of certain Latin expressions indicating industry and idleness; as "*Rarum pectine densat opus*," *Ovid*; and "*Mulier telam deserit continuo*."—*Ter*,

continuous piece is almost unknown ; but the material for a single garment is woven at a time. Let us suppose this to be a poncho ; then a frame is procured, with something of the same size and appearance as the quilting frame of the olden time, but different in form. The threads of the warp are stretched upon it ; but as they turn round a strong thread, at the bottom, there is a "selvage"* like that which is formed at the two sides. Further, as it is necessary at a particular point to prepare the hole for the insertion of the head when the robe is complete, the shuttle is passed only half way across for about eighteen inches ; and two webs each half width, lie parallel to each other. The shuttle is then passed the whole way across ; the two portions are re-united, and the weaving proceeds as before. There are thus no fewer than five selvages in the one piece of cloth. Finally, when the process of weaving has been completed, the ends of the warp are fastened in a peculiar way round the last thread,† so that the garment ends of itself as it began of itself, without hemming, "whipping," binding, or any equivalent process.

Some of these hand-made ponchos are extremely beautiful, exhibiting a great variety of colour and pattern ; and one of the most elaborate and curious which I have seen, though in frequent use, appears to be as perfect in the second or third generation of possessors, as it was in the first. Some elegant patterns are also found in the small bags which are recovered from the graves of the dead, as well as in the tassels which decorate them. These contained the maize meal,‡ or perhaps the tobacco which the departed brother was supposed to require.

In some instances, longer pieces of cloth have been woven.

* *Q.d.* a self-edge, an edge formed of the material itself. Skinner suggests *salvage* as the original form of the word, because it preserves the cloth !

† In a specimen of mummy-cloth which I possess, the warp threads are knotted at intervals over the last thread of weft ; and thus the web terminates.

‡ See Figure 10.

I possess a piece of hand-made cloth, nine feet two inches long, which was not intended for a poncho. It is thirty inches wide, with a broad ornamental stripe at one side, as if evidently designed to form part of a greater whole. Another piece of the same length is sewn along-side of it, the stripes being toward the margins; but this latter was obviously manufactured separately, for it is two inches narrower, and the details of the stripe are slightly different. At first sight, however, and indeed without the most careful scrutiny, the two parts appear to belong to the same web. Some idea may be formed of its substance when I state that it weighs seven pounds and three quarters. Nor is it unusual to manufacture ponchos in another way. Two pieces of cloth, or rather two breadths of the same cloth are sewn together, a hole being left for the head; and the raw extremities are hemmed or whipped, and ornamented with some rude woollen fringe.

The shuttle is a curious little implement, both in colour



17. Shuttle, from Arica.—6 inches.

and shape. That which is engraved is one of three found in the graves of the dead at Arica. What appears to be the same instrument, but of a totally different shape, is given by Worsaae in one of his illustrations, from a primitive vertical loom in use at the Ferroe isles.* As the web in the East was unusually narrow, the beautiful similitude of Scripture, that “my days are swifter than a weaver’s shuttle,”† had a double force. The implement moved rapidly, and had but a short distance to travel. But when, by the invention of Kaye in 1738, for the process of forcing or pitching by hand was

* *Afbildninger*, p. 123,—illustration No. 422. This is an upright loom, about four feet and a half high. The web is thirty-eight inches wide; the woven portion is at the top, and the remainder of the warp hangs in a series of balls on the ground. The Egyptian looms were both upright and horizontal.

+ Job vii, 6.

substituted the “flying shuttle,” the progress from side to side was still more rapid; and on the introduction of weaving altogether by machinery, the rapidity was increased yet more.

The mode of dressing, or of “draping the human form” as our tailors say, has been to some extent uniform, amid all the varieties of ages and of countries. It is to clothe the trunk of the body, or the vital parts; leaving the extremities,—viz. hands and arms, feet, legs and head,—to be cared for afterwards. Some covering for the head follows next; though the Irish peasant or “bog-trotter” of the seventeenth century was satisfied with his “glibbe” or mass of long thick hair.* The Boobies of Western Africa fill the hair with soft clay which becomes hardened by the sun, and forms a sort of pottery shield on the top of the head. Many of the peasantry of Ireland and Scotland, not merely the Highlanders among the latter, never wear shoes or stockings except in the depth of winter; and there are many thousands among our labouring population to whom a glove would be only a curiosity or a toy. The Irish peasant makes gloves of the opposite cuffs of his frieze great coat, or *cota-more*; the English labourer makes gloves of his pockets. The recency of the introduction of the glove among the German populace is shown by its name, “hand-shoe.”

* Edmund Spenser, in his *State of Ireland*, described this as “a thicke curled bush of haire, hanging downe over their eyes and monstrously disguising them, a thing very bad and hurtfull.” Campion in his *Historie* says, “proud they are of long crisped glibbes, and doe nourish the same with all their cunning; to crop the front thereof, they take it for a notable piece of villany.” Spenser adds, “the Irish glibbes are as fit markes as a mantle is for a thiefe. For whensoever he hath run himselfe into that perill of law, that he will not be knowne, he either cutteth off his glibbe quite, by which he becommeth nothing like himselfe, or pulleth it so low downe over his eyes, that it is very hard to discerne his theevish countenance.”—*Reprints of Irish Hist.*, 1809. In *Ivanhoe*, Scott represents Gurth as follows:—“The man had no covering on his head which was only defended by his own thick hair, matted and twisted together, and scorched by the influence of the sun into a rusty and dark red colour.”

The Arab wears a sort of coarse shirt, like a long bathing dress; and with certain varieties in the construction, the same is more or less common all over the East. The Chinaman, under a slight pressure of circumstances, constructs a cloak from the reeds of the marsh; the inner side of which is like a mat, while the loose ends form on the outside a sort of rough thatch. The New Zealander sometimes does the same; his dress consisting of a short petticoat of reeds like a Highlander's *kilt*, and a short cloak of the same material hanging over one or both shoulders. The whole family of the Gael, whether resident in Hibernia or Caledonia, formerly wore a single robe; the loose saffron-coloured shirt, which however bore a strong resemblance to the clerical surplice.* In the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth, the cloak was worn by the native Irish, both male and female, and it forms a frequent subject of remark by the English writers of the period. This is represented on the margin of John Speed's Map of Ireland, about 1610, as well as elsewhere; and the mantle of "the wilde Irish man" appears to be of straw or rush matting,† like the Chinaman's cloak just noticed. That of "the wilde Irish woman" appears to be of cloth, with a strip of sheepskin and pendent wool round the border.

The mode of dressing, in use with the child of nature was very simple. The wealthier New Zealander wrapped round him

* "From them [the Scythians] also, I think, came the saffron shirts and "smocks, which was devised by them in those hot countryes where saffron is "very common and rife, for avoyding that evill which commeth by much sweating and long wearing of linen."—*Spenser*. This evil was not avoided by Queen Isabella of Castile; who, at the siege of Granada vowed to the Virgin that she would not change her inner garment till the town had been taken. When it surrendered some weeks after, the colour of the cherished garment was a dark shade of "whitey-brown"; and in honour of her Majesty's piety and heroism, this was known as "Isabella coloured," for centuries after.

† In *Wilde's Catalogue*, p. 325, a piece of woollen cloth is engraved by the side of this cloak, to show their similarity of construction. The threads are very coarse, and the weaving is a sort of twill. Speed tells us too, in his *Theatre of Great Britain*, that the women wore "garments of shagge rug mantles, purfled "with a deep fringe of divers colours."

the robe, often rich beautiful and costly, made of his native flax, or *phormium tenax*. It was sometimes decorated with tufts of coloured wool, or with tassels of cord and small sections of reed*; and he strutted with as much pride and dignity as ever did the wearer of a Roman toga. This was commonly called his *mat*, perhaps from its resemblance in construction to the Indian mats in our houses, the lines of warp being about half an inch apart. To this day, some of them use an English made blanket in the same way, sitting quite naked when near a fire or inside a house.

The South American Indian knows nothing of paint and feathers, of mocassins and wampum;—just as he does not employ tomahawk and scalping knife, nor understand, except figuratively, burying the hatchet or smoking the calumet of peace. His mode of dressing from the first was very simple. In a piece of cloth or skin, he cut a hole for the insertion of his head; and the material hung down fore and aft like the tabard of a herald.† His arms of course were free, and the vital parts were covered and protected. It is unquestionable, therefore, that the poncho was originally an Indian robe. I have seen, in the public museum of Santiago, some very primitive ones, made in some of the Pacific Isles, of the inner bark of a tree. They were thin and very liable to injury; and they reminded me in their material of the fibre from the “lace tree,” which splits into

* I possess three of these of various kinds. One of them is of a pure white, soft and silky to both sight and touch, and beautifully ornamented with coloured wool, round three sides. The fourth side passed round the neck, and was generally but little seen.

† “His garment was of the simplest form imaginable, being a close jacket “with sleeves, composed of the tanned skin of some animal, on which the hair “had been originally left, but which had been worn off in so many places, that “it would have been difficult to distinguish from the patches that remained, to “what creature the fur had belonged. This animal vestment reached from the “throat to the knees, and served at once all the purposes of body clothing; there “was no wider opening at the collar than was necessary to admit the passage of “the head, from which it may be inferred that it was put on by slipping it over “the head and shoulders, in the manner of a modern shirt or ancient hauberk.”
Ivanhoe.

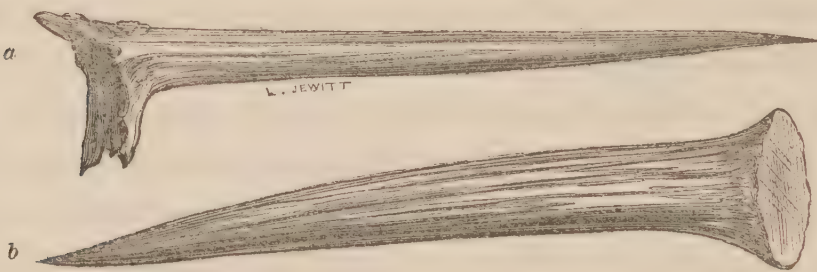
numerous laminae, like pasteboard which has been formed by the union of numerous sheets of paper. The Spanish colonists, living in the same country and climate as the natives, and subject to many similar hardships and changes, readily adopted the poncho ; and in some places such a thing as a coat would not be seen among several hundreds of the common people. In one of the vagaries of fashion, the *name* has been adopted in England, but the thing is only a modification of our well known wrappers. The real poncho is unknown here ; and though large numbers are manufactured for the foreign market, it is almost impossible to procure one.

The other portions of the dress may be dismissed in a few words. The feet and legs are frequently bare. The trowsers are more or less long according to taste ; but on the Indians of Peru and Bolivia they scarcely cover the calf. There is always a slit of about three inches at the bottom, and sometimes a few holes, as if in imitation of the old knee breeches,—but I never saw the slit closed. The head covering is often a knitted woollen nightcap : but in South Chile is seen a little white felted cap without peak or brim. It is called *boneta*, and resembles a wool hat in the process of making, before it has been shaped on a block or a brim turned* on it.

The woman robes herself in the following manner. Taking a piece of cloth whose breadth corresponds to her height, say four feet six, or a yard and a half, she rolls it round her longitudinally. A girdle, of leather cloth or cord, fastened round the waist, maintains it in its position during the process of dressing. Two stitches or pins are then inserted, one on each side of the neck, fastening the front and hinder parts together, and supporting the portion of cloth which is above the girdle. The arms stand out bare to the shoulder, and any

* See the “Caps worn by men and women at Newcastle-under-Lyne.”—*Transactions of the Historic Society, Lanc. and Chesh.*, vol. iii, pl. xxvi, fig. 2.

loose flap of cloth which remains under the arms is gathered up and tightened on the breast. The hair usually hangs down behind, in two bands of triple plait, and this is the custom among young and old, whether of Spanish or Indian descent. On going out of doors a small three-cornered shawl is thrown over the shoulders and fastened on the breast. The richer natives have pins of silver, rarely of any other metal, but the poor employ a thorn, which etymology shows us was the original pin.* Nature seems to have discouraged pin-making in the country; for in the region of cultivation large spines like gigantic cockspurs grow on the stem of the orange tree, while in the desert the *algarrobo* or thorn tree flourishes, and there are *espinas*



18. (a) Spine from the *Algarrobo*.
Full size.

19.(b) Spine from the stem of the Orange tree.
Full size.

suitable almost everywhere. The vegetables around them



20. Piercer of Cactus thorn.

furnish piercers and needles also; for the spines of the cactus

from near Coquimbo are frequently employed in this way. There is one figured in *Ancient Meols*† (p. 217) from North America, the first I ever heard of. But, among various articles procured at Arica from the graves of the dead, was an old needle with a bit of thread in the eye; and to my great



21. Needle of Cactus thorn.—4 inches.

* Pin, from Lat. *spina*, a thorn. "A small brass Utensil for fastening on Clothes in dressing; also a Necessary for various other Uses."—Bailey.

† Taken from Schoolcraft, v, 93.

delight I discovered weeks after it had come into my possession, that it is not a piece of blackened metal, but a thorn of the cactus. I had no opportunity of noticing any of the primitive thimbles, but a few centuries ago, they were usually of leather* in England.

Any one who is familiar, not with the statues of antiquity, but with the representations of living forms, must be aware that both sexes are often represented with much of the body uncovered. I have beside me as I write, the representation of a Greek lady of the olden time, whose costume is precisely that just described as in use among the Indian women of Araucania ;—but her hair is differently dressed, and the colours are not those which are popular to-day. One is accustomed also to see the robe open at the side, and fastened by a button or clasp above the knee ; as if the enveloping piece of cloth had not been long enough, and its ill joined extremities had a tendency to fly open in the exercise of walking.

This lightness of clothing was not the effect of climate, for we find it in regions cold as well as warm ; and it is believed that in the atmosphere of civilization and luxury, people use more clothing as well as more food than nature demands. In the time of the Romans, our ancestors used clothing sparingly, and coloured their bodies with woad, or vegetable blue ; and within the last one hundred and fifty years, in a country several degrees colder than our own, people were accustomed, on important occasions, to go naked. As they also were persons of a single robe, a few words of explanation may be necessary.

The gentleman among the early Irish and Highlanders had his lower limbs encased in close fitting *truis*, and many of the humbler classes had an approximation to this. But the

* *Neckam de Utensilibus*, in Mayer's Vocab., p. 101.

kilt or separate petticoat was unknown.* The mode of dressing, as described by Captain Burt,† in 1730, was as follows:—"A small part of the plaid is set in folds, and girt "round the waist, to make of it a short petticoat, which "reaches half-way down the thigh, and the rest is brought "over the shoulders, and then fastened before, below the "neck—often with a fork, and sometimes with a bodkin, "or sharpened piece of stick; so that they make pretty near "the appearance of the people in London when they bring "their gowns over their heads to shelter them from the rain."

The belted plaid "was precisely the dress of a savage, who, "finding a web of cloth that he had not skill to frame into a "garment, wrapt one end round his middle, and threw the "rest about his shoulders. This dress was abundantly inconvenient; for the upper part of the plaid was only useful in "rain, or for a cover at night, while the lower extremity was "essential to decency. It was, in short, as if a man's great-coat was fastened to his breeches; and in exertions of war "or the chase, all was necessarily thrown away together."‡

One of the marked distinctions between wealth and poverty or between civilization and barbarism is, that in the former case we find something resembling a division of labour, and in the latter confusion. The rich man has a room in his house for each special purpose, an implement also, and frequently a horse or a carriage. The poor man uses one apartment for

* This was first invented by an English military tailor, who had gone down from London to Fort William to make clothes for the soldiers, A.D. 1727. A Liverpool trading company had undertaken to avail themselves of the minerals of Glengarry, and found wood in abundance for smelting purposes; the Highlanders of the neighbourhood were in general the labourers. But, as the whole plaid was usually rejected in battle or at work, the men appeared, *in puris naturalibus*, with the exception of cap and brogues. Mr. Rawlinson, the superintendent, urged the separation of a portion of the plaid, and the tailor fixed in the plaits with the needle. Rawlinson himself, *though a Quaker*, was the first to wear it; then the chief of Glengarry; and in course of time it made way, but against strong prejudice.—*Pinkerton's Essay, Ulster Journal*, vi, 316.

† "Letters of a Gentleman from the North of Scotland," *qu.* *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vi, 321.

‡ *Quarterly Review*, vol. i, quoted as above.

every purpose, one dish for any kind of food and for a thousand domestic uses; and in general makes the best of the little that he possesses. We find the same in clothing; the rich have twenty articles supplying as many wants,* the poor make one article do duty in twenty different ways. The ingenuity shown is sometimes surprising; but if we glance at the primitive people of various lands we shall find a wonderful sameness of practice. For example, the poncho in South America is vest, coat, and greatcoat all in one; it is a bed, the one end forming a sheet and the other a coverlet; within the tropics it protects the shoulders from the burning heat, and further south it is very comfortable when a morning hoar-frost covers the ground. It keeps off the penetrating sand of the desert, and is a protection against the rain which in South Chile descends in sheets of water; it is a shield in fighting, a wrapper for necessaries, a bag for plunder, &c. Several of these purposes are served by the plaid of the Highlander; but I prefer to place along with the uses of the poncho, the description of the cloak which was used by "the wilde Irish man." Spenser having shown that the mantle was used not only by the Scythians, but by the "Iewes, Chaldees, Egyptians, Greekes," and "the auncient Latines," says that the first of these "carried always "with them that weed, as their house, their bed, and their "garment;" and in all these respects it was still more neces-

* A *Metrical Vocabulary* of the fourteenth century, shows us how numerous the articles of dress had become, more than five hundred years ago. It is interesting also on philological grounds.

smokke	brechys	schyrt	gowne	a chymere
Est interula,	bracee,	camisia,	toga,	et jupa;
a bond	hoode	braygurdylle	taberde	
Instita,	capicium,	perysomaque,	collobiumque;	
keyfe	cappe	pyllyon	hoose	vampey
Thenaque,	caleptra,	pilius,	caligaque,	pedana.
cloke	sleve	coote	kyrtylle	
Est armilansa,	manica,	tinica,	tinicella;	
kotyn or pak-clothe		dobelat	pancher	
Est bumbicinium vestis,		diploydis,	epifemur.	

Mayer's Vocab. p. 182.

sary in a colder clime. But it had been abused, for “the inconveniences which thereby doe arise are much more many: for it is a fit house for an outlawe, a meet bed for a rebel, and an apt cloke for a theife.” There are copious explanations given under each of these heads, one of which I quote in a note.* . . . “Thus necessary and fitting is a mantle for a bad man, and surely for a bad huswife it is no lesse convenient; for some of them that bee wandring woe-men, it is halfe a wardrobe.”

In weaving, the check and the stripe were known to the Egyptians, as well as the process called “cording.” Some of the less complex patterns were common also in our own country, before the invention of the formal loom. Reference has been made to very ancient specimens of cloth from the graves of the dead; but some may doubt its antiquity. The reply is very easy. Traces of woollen stuffs, belonging to the Bronze age, have been found in Denmark;† in all probability 1,800 years old; and interments as well as dress identical in kind have been found in various parts of England. At Scale House, near Skipton, Yorkshire, a body was found in an oak coffin; and a specimen of the woollen dress is here shown. Indications of wool have been noticed in connexion with Roman implements found in London‡; and in the Faussett Collection, deposited in the earth about the sixth century, there



22. Woollen Cloth, from the tree-coffin, Scale House Barrow.

* “Under it he may cleanly convey any fit pillage that cometh in his way, and when he goith abroad in the night in free-booting, it is his best and surest friend; for lying, as they often do, 2 or 3 nights together abroad to watch for their booty, with that they can prettily shroud themselves under a bush or a bank side, till they may conveniently do their errand: and when all is over, he can, in his mantle passe through any town or company, being close hooded over his head, as he useth, from knowledge of any to whom he is indangered.”

† *Worsaae, Afbild*, p. 19.

‡ *Wright's Celt, Roman and Saxon*, p. 342.

are frequent traces of linen.* The Abbé Cochet notices several other instances in *La Normandie Souterraine*, some of which appear to carry us back to Roman times.† Also there was a piece of checked cloth round the “Skeleton in Armour” which is celebrated by Longfellow,—buried it is supposed by the ante-Columbian discoverers of America upwards of eight hundred years ago, and turned up in 1831.‡ Further still, in 1857 some cloth was turned up at Coldingham in Berwickshire, enveloping the remains of two of the Priors who had died respectively about 1202 and 1212.§ Also, numerous specimens of cloth of great antiquity, are preserved in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy. If such be the case in moist climates and damp earth, why should not buried cloth be traceable in a rainless district for more than a thousand years, as it is in Egypt?

But, long anterior to the use of cloth must have been that of skin; and, as with the Russian peasant or English farm servant of the present time, the latter was often more accessible to the poor. In the year 1824, a human body was found in a bog, near Castle Blakeney in the County of Galway, Ireland: but as the vital parts only had been covered, the clothing resembled the dress of Gurth in *Ivanhoe*, already quoted in a note. Its great peculiarity, however, was the mode in which the various portions were sewn together. “The material employed in sewing was fine gut, of three strands, and the regularity and closeness of the stitches are most remarkable, as shown by the accompanying cut, in



23. Stitching.

* I have quoted numerous instances in one of the Essays on Spinning and Weaving.—*Ulster Journal*, v, 172.

+ *La Normandie Souterraine*, pp. 225, 209, 267.

† Rafn's *Antiquitates Americanae*, p. 6; *Memoires des Antiquaires du Nord*, 1840-44, pp. 104, 119; Longfellow's *Skeleton in Armour*.

§ Newspapers, May 1857; *Ulster Journal*, v, 174.

“ which a bit of one of the joinings is represented double the
 “ natural size. This closure was effected by what is termed
 “ the looped-stitch, similar to that used in working a button-
 “ hole, so that by having each stitch knotted, the chance of
 “ ripping was lessened.”*

I will add but a few words respecting the coverings of the feet. The term “ brogue ” which is often applied in Ireland to a very coarse shoe, in strictness referred to a shoe of a peculiar construction. Specimens are still occasionally found in bogs, preserved by the antiseptic qualities of the surrounding matter ; and some are exhibited in museums. The brogue of the Scottish Highlander† required no skilled workman to prepare it. The man placed his naked foot on a raw and soft hide, and wrapping round it as much as he required, laced or sewed the opposite sides together, and cut away the rest. The hair was outside, the skin soon dried to the foot,‡ and it was never removed until it was entirely worn out. Shoes of this kind are still worn, in the Western Islands of Arran, in Galway Bay.§



24. Karrane from the Isle of Man.

* Wilde's *Catalogue*, &c., p. 277.

† “ The hunted red-deer's undressed hide,
 “ Their hairy buskins well supplied.”—*Scott's Marmion*, v, 5.

‡ “ ——— Strange garments cleave not to their mould
 But with the aid of use.”—*Shaksp.—Macbeth* i, 3.

§ Wilde's *Catalogue*, p. 281.

In an interesting paper on the subject of Ancient Shoes, by Mr. Mayer, he mentions that shoes of this kind are still used in the Isle of Man, and called Karranes; and that in hiring a man-servant, the contract specifies that the master shall provide him with three pairs of these shoes annually. Shoes of the same kind are seen on a bas relief from Persepolis, in the British Museum; they appear on the Dacian prisoners, on the column of Trajan at Rome; and they were in use in Britain at the time of Cæsar's invasion. They are also worn among the mountains in the Neapolitan territory. In the *Transactions* of the Iona Club, the letter of a Highland priest is quoted, *temp.* Henry VIII. He says—"after that "we have slaine the redd deir, we flay off the skyne, and "setting off our foot on the inside thereof, we play the Sutter "[shoemaker], measuringe so much thereof as shall retche "up to our ancklers, pryckinge the upper part thereof with "holes, that the water may repas when it enters, and streuched "up with a thwange of the same mentioned, above our said "ancklers."*

Brogues of this kind, found in bogs, may be seen in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy. There were other brogues a little more artistic in their construction, and in which the hair had been removed from the hide; but such



25. Ancient Irish Shoe.

distinctions as sole and heel, fore and hind quarters, &c., were unknown.†

A very ancient, and somewhat elegant shoe of

* *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lanc. and Chesh.*, i, pp. 117, 118.

† In Archbishop Alfric's *Vocabulary*, there occurs the word "*Obstrigilli*, "*rifelingas*"; on which Mr. Wright remarks, in a note, that "a rough shoe worn "by the Scots in the fourteenth century was called a *riveling*."

this kind was discovered in a bog in the County of Roscommon. It was found on the foot of a female; who from her dress and ornaments must have been of high social position. "It was laced with thong in front and behind. The front seam is elegantly plaited, and must originally have come high up on the instep. This specimen is of much thinner material than that of any other ancient shoe or buskin in the Collection, and it appears to have been bound round the ancle with the leather thongs which closed the seams."*

Now, there are thousands of pairs of brogues proper, in use in South America.† The pair in my own possession was the first I saw; I procured them from a boy at the copper mine of Descubridora near Chañaral. They are of thick tanned hide, of a dull white or grey colour, with very little stitching. Each is of a single piece, the sole running into the upper as in the case of a stocking; and there is a hole in the side of each for a piece of string, so that the pair can be carried across the shoulder at will, or round the neck and hanging in front. They are never mended, but are worn until the sole is ground through. The sand then enters and tickles the foot, so they are kicked aside. In riding through the desert, for about one hundred and twenty-six miles, great numbers were passed, in each of which a hole had been worn, but in no instance was there a pair. The muleteers who owned them appeared to have thrown aside one at a time. I estimated that I had seen as many as would have filled a moderate sized barrel; but as they do not rot and are rarely covered with sand, some of them may have lain there for several years.

Akin to the brogue is the sandal; and of this also I saw

* Wilde's *Catalogue*, p. 283.

† Either I did not hear the native name which is given to them, or I have forgotten it; but I find in Dictionaries "*Abarca*, a sort of shoe worn by country people, made of raw skins."—"A piece of coarse leather, tied on the soles of the feet, worn by Spanish peasants."

many, but never one worn on the naked foot, except by the Indians of Bolivia and South Peru. I have no doubt however, that they are so employed, by the poor generally, in remote districts. Mr. Faull, captain of the Rio Salado mine, had three pairs manufactured for me, and forwarded to Valparaiso. In this case a sole is cut out of a thick hide, and pieces of pliant leather are inserted in it, like thongs, to tie across the top of the foot or round the ankle. These articles are called *plantillas*, and so far as I saw, they were worn by Europeans only to protect ordinary boots and shoes. At the copper smelting works, the slag appears frequently like pieces of broken bottles, and cuts the soles of boots and shoes very readily. The workmen therefore prepare the *plantillas*, and wear them as an outer shell or protection.

I did not see any examples of wooden shoes, but they probably exist in the south, near Valdivia. On the east coast they are common, having been introduced by Biscayan immigrants. The article resembles the French *sabot*, with slight varieties arising from taste or nationality. Unsuitable as it appears to us, it was in use in this country during the reigns of Alfred and his successors* ; and it was not without its advantages in a country where roads and artificial drainage were unknown. At present, the nearest approximation to it is the clog, or shoe with wooden sole, which is well known, especially among the young of the labouring population, both in town and country.

V.—FOOD AND FOOD IMPLEMENTS.

To a primitive people, unacquainted with the labours of agriculture, animal food is always the readiest ; except in those countries where vegetable productions are unusually abundant. Quadrupeds, birds, the finny tribe and shell fish, constitute a large proportion of their supplies ; nor are even

* “ *Coturnus*, triwen sceo.”—*Alfric's Vocab.*



26. Saxon Urns from English Graves, showing similarity of style in Ornamentation.

less cleanly creatures always regarded with abhorrence. As a natural consequence, animal remains are commonly found in connexion with the traces of human existence ; as bones, horns, shells, and occasionally leather. As a matter of course too, population is sparse and widely distributed ; for where neither the keeper of sheep nor the tiller of the ground is known, the substances which nature yields without human effort, are small in quantity. Population must have made great progress before the idea of the Poet can be realized that “every rood of ground maintains its man.” In the tropical regions, however, where the human constitution requires a smaller amount of animal food, bounteous nature pours into the lap of man a profusion of vegetable substances. Hence *frijols*, melons, bananas, limes, pumpkins and such like, constitute to a large extent the food of the population ; and those best acquainted with the country use them most abundantly. In the Polar regions, on the contrary, fat and oil take the place to a large degree of the vegetable food of the tropics, or the mixed food of the temperate zones. In Patagonia horseflesh is largely eaten, and an English friend who has lived for weeks at a time, with the natives, speaks of it in high terms ; while in Tierra-del-Fuego are found the “Fish Indians” who live mainly on the produce of the sea.

Throughout the Isthmus of Panama poultry are abundant ; and before the railway was completed, maize fruit and eggs constituted the chief articles of supply to the adventurers who crossed the Isthmus. In Araucania, the Indians rear large quantities of fowls for the sake of both their flesh and their eggs ; they have also cattle and a few sheep. Horses are common for the purpose of locomotion.

Animal remains are employed for a large variety of purposes. For example, the skull of an ox is used as a seat, the horns forming rests for the arms ; and in the *patio* or courtyard of a respectable house, one is accustomed to see

curious patterns wrought in the pavement, the leg-bones of sheep being used instead of small stones. They are stuck in the ground perpendicularly, so that nothing is visible but the hinge joint. This is the part upon which one treads. I was at first told that these were human bones, but soon discovered that the information was erroneous; though a Peruvian peon or working man assured me that they were “huesos de hombre y huesos de burro.”* The leg-bones of the sheep, splintered and scraped, were formerly used in this country as pegs for sustaining slates or stone flakes on houses; probably because wood was too weak, while iron corroded, and copper nails were little known. The ready adaptation of animal remains to purposes of utility is seen in the country school-boy’s conversion of the wing-bone of a goose into a case for pins and needles, steel pens, or gun-powder. A plug or small cork is used as a stopper.

In the older countries of Europe the quern or hand-mill is still known, and it is a familiar object all over the East. It may be seen almost any day, at work in the bazaars of India. It is frequently alluded to in the Scriptures; so that we find it in use in Egypt† at the time of Moses, among the Philistines at the period of the Judges,‡ and currently throughout Palestine in the days of our Lord.§ It was in use among

* Bones of man and bones of the ass.

† Exod. xi, 5. “From the firstborn of Pharaoh that sitteth upon his throne, even unto the firstborn of the maidservant that is behind the mill.”

‡ Judg. xvi, 21. “And he [Samson] did grind in the prison house.”

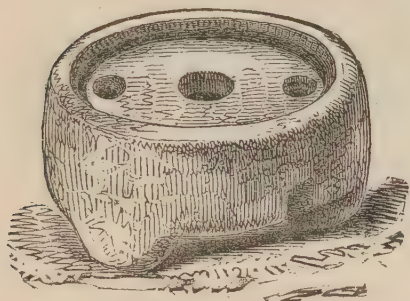
“Whereas they made him at the querne grind,
Ah! nobil Sampson, strongest of mankind.”—*Chaucer*.

Judg. ix, 53. “A certain woman cast a piece of a millstone upon Abimelech’s head, and all to [completely] brake (not “break”) his skull.” We know from the original, that this was the *rider* or upper millstone.

§ Matt. xxiv, 41. “Tweine wymmen schulen been gryndynge in o querne, oon schal be taken and the tother lefte.”—*Wiclif’s Version*.

Luke xvii, 2. “It were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, &c.” This is the *ass* millstone, or lower one, which was frequently larger and of a harder material than the upper one. “Hard as a piece of the nether millstone.”—Job xli, 24.

the Greeks* and Latins,† and is noticed as an ordinary English household implement by Shakspeare.‡ It was employed in the Isle of Skye in Dr. Johnson's time;§ it is still in use in the West of Ireland to grind the first meal of the season;|| and its use has not yet entirely ceased in Wales or Cornwall.¶ An interesting variety is that known



27. Pot-quern.

as the Pot-quern, in which the upper stone sits within a groove of the lower. The one shown is from the collection of the Royal Irish Academy. "It is nine inches in diameter and four high; it stands on three feet, and had evidently been long in

use. The top stone, with two handle-holes, is represented in this figure, as also the meal hole, which is cut obliquely

* "Grind, grind away mill
Pittacus too was a grinder,
And yet Mitylene is still
And suffers his edicts to bind her,
Grind, grind away mill."

Song of the Greek Women.

† "For skant of vittale

The cornes in quernes of stane they grand."—*Douglas's Virgil.*

Though Douglas employed a term well known in his days, he was, in reality, in error. Virgil represents his heroes as using the crusher or grain-rubber, mentioned below; but this had disappeared in Scotland when Douglas wrote.

"Nunc torrete igni fruges, nunc frangite saxo."

Virg., Georg. i, 267.

"Tum Cererem corruptam undis cerealiaque arma
Expediunt fessi rerum; frugesque receptas
Et torrere parant flammis et frangere saxo."

Ib., Æneid i, 177.

See Heyne's Note on the mode of preparing meal in the most ancient times.

‡ "Robin Goodfellow, are you not he
That fright the maidens of the villag'ry,
Skim milk, and sometimes labour at the quern."—

Mids. Night's Dream ii, 1.

§ When the water mills of Skye and Raasa are too far distant, the housewives grind their oats with a quern or handmill.—*Tour in the Hebrides.*

¶ *Transactions of the Historic Society i, 40.*

¶ The term "quern" is found in the Vocabularies, ranging over a period of four centuries. It is found in an *Anglo-Saxon* one of the eleventh, in a *Semi-Saxon* one of the twelfth, in a *Nominale*, and also in an English Vocabulary of

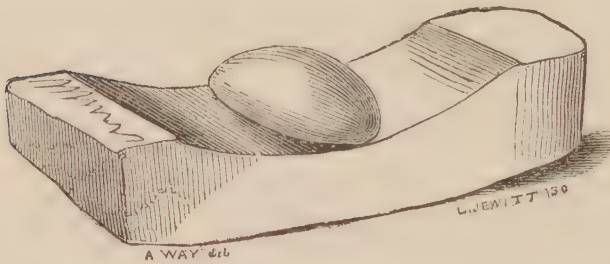
“through the lower margin. This form of mill need not, of necessity, have been provided with a pivot, as the lip of the lower stone retained the upper *in situ*.”*

But, previous to the invention of the quern, a still more simple instrument was employed; namely the triturating stone. This is a stone about two feet in length and perhaps half as broad; slightly hollowed between its extreme ends, and bearing a noticeable resemblance to a short step



28. Grain-rubber, Ireland.

from an ancient set of stone stairs. In 1863 I had one engraved from the Collection of the Royal Irish Academy; but it had a hole in the side, for the exit of the meal. The grinding operation was always performed by a rubber, similar in principle to a painter's muller. In some instances the rubber was cylindrical, and in others it was merely flattened on the lower side.



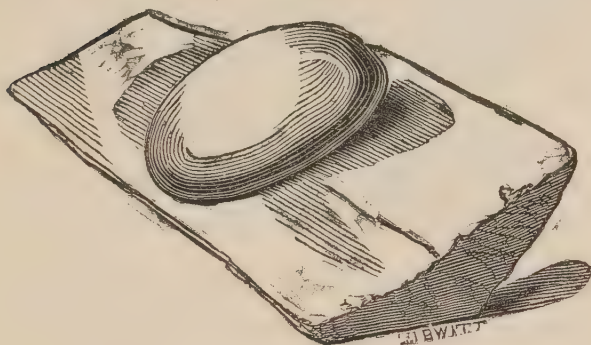
29. Grain-rubber, Africa.

The triturating stone is still in use in India, for grinding the materials of curry; also among the red men of New Mexico; and a sketch of a very interesting one from

the fifteenth. In the four cases respectively, the Latin word *Mola* is translated by “cwrn-stan,” “cweorn-stan,” “qwerne-stone,” and “quernes.” It is also described by Alexander Neckam thus:—“*Mola assit piperale, et mola manualis.*” Mr. Wright remarks in a note, “the quern, or stones turned with the hand to grind corn, (the domestic mill,) appears to have remained in constant use since the time of the Romans, and has fallen into disuse only very recently, in some parts of the country.”

* Wilde's *Catalogue*, p. 108.

West Africa was forwarded to me by Mr. Albert Way. It appears further, that among a large number of stone implements discovered in shifting sand near Table Bay in South Africa, some very coarse crushing stones have been found. They seem to have been used for bruising grain and roots; or rather for grinding, as they are slightly worn at the edges. One in my own possession, obtained from Ireland, is a very coarse grit stone.* A polishing stone, for flint and stone implements, given by Worsaae,† bears a close resemblance to a tritulating stone.



30. Grain-rubber, Lota.

Though they have been so extensively used in the past ; I had arrived at the conclusion that they were now practically obsolete. This, however, is far from being the case. The first I saw in use was in a hut in Araucania ; and at my request

the Indian woman promptly placed upon it a handful of maize, knelt on the ground at one end of it, and with a rubbing stone converted the grain into coarse meal in a few seconds. I afterwards saw it in use in the market place at Santiago, where a woman was bruising boiled Indian corn, somewhat in the same way as country house-wives at home

* A saddle-shaped stone and two rubbers of the early stone age, were found in a primitive hut near Anglesea. The Rev. W. Wynn Williams possesses no fewer than sixteen portions of the lower stones, and eleven grain-rubbers. One rubber weighs 6lbs. 2oz.: it is 8½in. long, and 10½in. in circumference. Other such stones have been found in Cambridgeshire and Cornwall; and specimens exist from Soudan and Natal, in Africa. It was in use at Sidda; and as the grit mixes with the flour in the process of grinding, Sir Samuel Baker thinks that he has swallowed a good sized millstone at various times.—Albert Way, Esq., "*Notices of the Relics, &c.*"

† *Afbildninger*, p. 10, fig. 12.

bruise potatoes to mingle with flour for bread.* With some difficulty I procured a specimen at Lota, nearly 300 miles south of Valparaiso; and succeeded in bringing it home.

The people have a superstition that a suitable tritulating stone should be found by accident, and that the tool of a workman should never be lifted upon it to shape it;† but this impression does not prevail everywhere, as is evident from the Dublin specimen just referred to, and from one in our Liverpool Town Museum. The latter is carefully made by chiselling; it has four feet formed out of the piece, and a circular neck and head at one end, like the swan-neck or snake-neck handle of metal ornaments and cups. The implement with which the native Australian crushes the Nardoo seeds is evidently a natural stone like that used in Chile.

At a great threshing floor, about seventy miles above Caldera and on the way to the Pass of the Andes, I noticed a very peculiar fork. It was of wood, a stalk of the vine with three projecting points in the same plane; and when the bark was peeled off and the points a little sharpened, it looked as if suitable for the purpose. I was surprised to see, a few weeks ago, in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy, a somewhat similar three-pronged implement of wood, which is supposed to be several centuries old. In the latter, the points are broader, suggesting the flukes of an eel spear; but both agree in being tridents, and in showing an ingenious adaptation of wood to purposes for which iron is commonly employed.

* The distinctive terms in our old Glossaries show the various ways in which bread was prepared. Thus "*Subcinericius vel focarius*, heorth-bacen hlaf" [a hearth-baked loaf]; "*Clibanius*, ofen-bacen hlaf"; "*Pugillaris*, gyrdel-bred." *Mayer's Vocab.*, pp. 41, 288. In the *Pictorial Vocabulary*, there is a loaf (*panis*) of the fifteenth century given, which the reader may like to see.



31. Loaf.

† This reminds one of the Latin proverb respecting a poet; "*Poeta nascitur non fit.*"

We are sometimes surprised at the immense quantities of

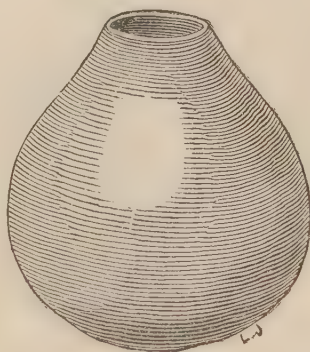


32. Jug from the Graves at Arica.—Scale Half.

pottery which are found with Roman remains, and at Anglo-Saxon and other burial places; for they constitute a much larger proportion of the objects found than do the articles of pottery of more recent periods. Various reasons have been assigned for this fact, but a careful observa-

tion of people, who possess the conveniences of civilization in only a limited degree, exhibits to us an adequate explanation. Among the common people of Peru and Chile, for example, we find numerous implements of pottery, which are of metal or glass amongst ourselves; because the prices at which metal and glass are sold cannot be reached by them, in numerous cases. Vessels of clay, for instance, are used for baking, boiling, frying, &c., and also for containing both fluids and solids.

They appear in every variety and size, from the small vessel which can be concealed in the hollow of the hand, to the amphora of many feet



33. Gourd, probably suggesting form.—Half.

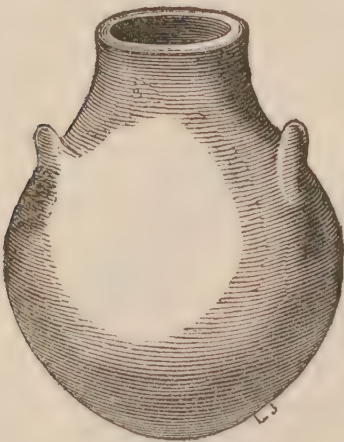
high.* In the graves of the dead, some of these are found of little more than half the capacity of a common egg-shell; and the cups from which an infusion of the *yerba-maté* is sucked, are often very little larger.



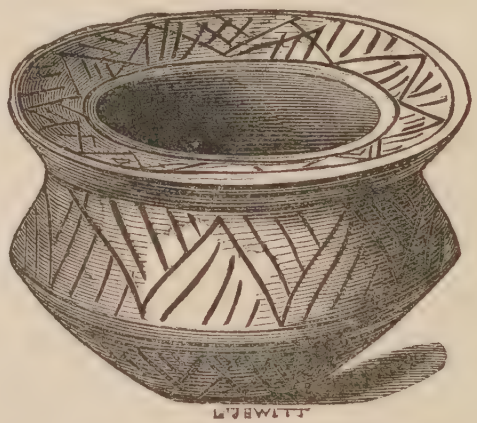
34. From the Graves at Arica.—Half.

Some of this pottery is remarkable by the fact, that it contains indentations and ornaments similar to those on our ancient British ware;† shewing that the taste of primitive peoples is in a great degree similar, and that the forms which give pleasure, as well as the instruments which

produce them, are in a great degree identical. One of these egg-shaped little vessels, taken from a native grave near Arica, is still stoppered up, and contains perhaps the *chicha*, or native maize-beer, which was deposited beside the corpse, with benevolent intentions, several centuries ago.



35. From the Graves at Arica.
Half.



36. Incense-cup, from Throwley, Staffordshire.
Half.

* In Old English, the general name for the larger pieces of pottery is "crock." Hence, in Alfric's *Vocabulary*, and indeed in several others of later date, occurs "*Anfora, crocca*."

† Compare fig. 32 with figs. 26 and 36.

In making some of these Pottery vessels the wheel is not employed. They are built up entirely by the hand, and with an accuracy sufficient for all practical purposes. The same fact has been noticed in connexion with some primitive



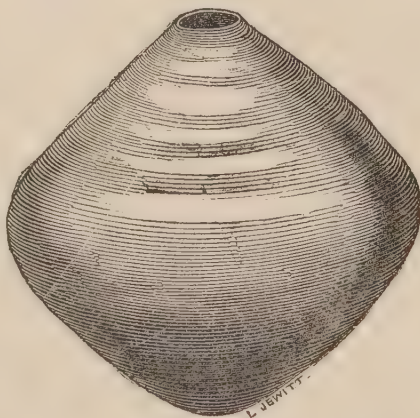
37. Stoppered Vessel.—Half.



38. *Maté-cup*: black earthenware.—Half.

pottery found at the Cape of Good Hope,* and no doubt this is, comparatively, a common occurrence.

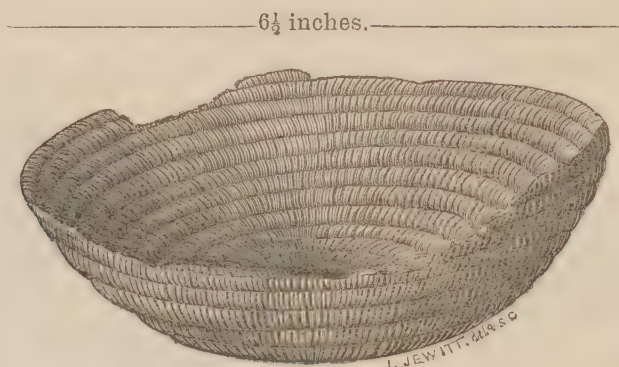
In the graves of the dead have also been found, curious little baskets, manufactured like the dish mats of bent-grass which are common in this country. They contained, like the pottery vessels, some of the viands on which departed friends were expected to regale themselves; and as there is no reason to believe that they were specially prepared, they illustrate the utensils which were, and indeed still are, in use in the cottages of the inhabitants. Several years ago, I procured in the Isle of



39. From the Graves, Arica.—Half.

* Mr. Busk, at Congress of Prehistoric Archæology.

Man, a basket identical in structure, and very similar in shape.



40. Basket, from Arica.

Along with these are found curious woven bags* and nets, the former being occasionally of many colours, and decorated with tassels. These contained the meal from Indian corn, or perhaps tobacco; and something akin to them is regularly employed even now, by natives who undertake long journeys.

The common people of Peru, and of some other parts of the coast, use a large quantity of lard or animal fat with their food, and it is extraordinary what an amount of severe bodily labour is performed on no other sustenance than boiled beans and lard. The cooking of the former is sometimes a tedious process, as they require several hours' boiling, and the latter is sometimes rancid and disgusting; but the men have formulæ of their own for restoring it to comparative purity.

In most parts of the country fire is never required except for cooking, and a little charcoal is sufficient for this purpose. The pan or *brasero*† in which it is lighted, appears afterwards,

* Fig. 10.

† It is frequently of copper, but not always; it is occasionally seen of pottery, a sort of shallow "pan-mug." A similar implement was used in England, four centuries ago, for the same purpose; for we find in the *Pictorial Vocabulary* "*Hec arula, Anglice a croke.*" "In the Anglo-Saxon *Vocabularies*, arula is "explained as meaning a fire-pan, a vessel for holding lighted charcoal."—*Wright's Note.*

for hours, to contain only a heap of ashes; but a primitive pair of bellows soon revives the glowing embers. This is a little fanner composed of plaited rushes, about the size of a hand-screen on an English chimney piece. It sometimes serves the purpose of a rustic fan, and is known by the common name *sopla*. In hotels, restaurants, and clubs, little trays of 'live charcoal, but apparently of ashes, each not much larger than a good salt cellar, stand on the table. These are for the purpose of lighting cigarettes; and they exhibit a glow upon the slightest puff, but without the aid of the *sopla*. It may be interesting to see an English vessel of four centuries ago; a brewer's "corb" or basket.

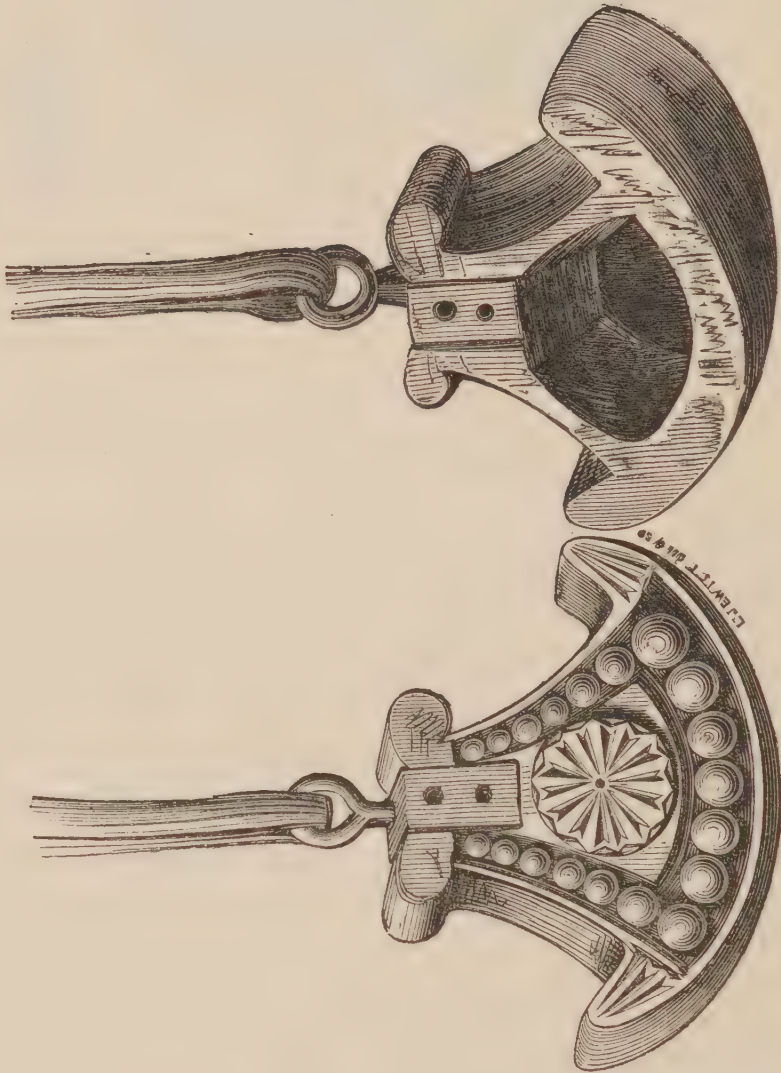


41. Brewer's Vessel,
from the *Pict. Vocab.*

VI.—HORSE FURNITURE, AND EQUIPMENTS OF OXEN.

Among the richer people of South America, before its conquest by Europeans, the precious metals were very abundant, and an almost incredible number of vessels of gold were brought in to Pizarro as a ransom for the unfortunate monarch of Peru. Among the less distinguished chieftains, silver was abundant; and even within the last twenty to twenty-five years, many of the common household vessels were of silver, both among the wealthier natives and the people of Spanish origin. This was more especially the case at some distance from the sea shore; basins, goblets, ewers, teapots, *maté* cups, and *bombillas*, were all of silver.

At the present day, the Indian of the South displays his barbaric splendour mainly in connexion with the trappings of his horse; while his wife or daughter exhibits her wealth in the decorations of her person. Knowing, as they do, that dollars are of standard silver while bars or ingots might be adulterated, their manufactured articles are frequently if not usually, formed from dollars beaten up. When the Indian,



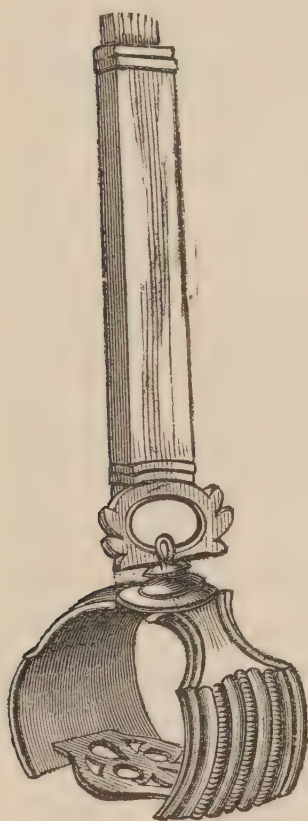
Inside.

Outside.

42. Large Wooden Stirrup of Chile.

therefore, has disposed of cattle, horses, wool, fruit, or any other commercial product, it is commonly said that there is just so much money withdrawn from circulation. He sends through the forest or village, for the rude silversmith of the little region, and counting over to him a certain number of dollars, he remunerates him afterwards for his trouble in giving the material a new form.

Though the so-called chief may be only a farmer or grazier, a little removed above his fellows, he aspires at once to a set of silver trappings. These include the bridle-bit,



43. Silver Stirrup and Cañon.

stirrups, *cañons*, spurs, and, if possible, buckles, studs, and tags. The whole of the bridle-bit is not always of silver, but the exterior portions or cheek pieces are, and the rings which attach it to the bridle. The spurs are usually large and showy, the rowels being much larger than with us. But it does not follow that they are more cruel to the animal; for the side is not struck perpendicularly by the *acus* of the rowel, but at an acute angle so as to push rather than pierce. I have seen a pair of spurs which it was declared contained sixty silver dollars, or about £14 worth of silver. The stirrup of silver is somewhat smaller than an English one; not because the foot of the Indian is smaller than ours, but because he

inserts only the toes. In a pair which I purchased, there was a little ring at the top of the orifice through which the stirrup leather passed. This is a precaution to preserve an article of so much value from being stolen or lost. The stirrup leather might break in fording a river, or might be cut

designedly, so that the article might drop where it would be impossible for the rider to recover it. Accordingly, a slender but strong piece of chain passing through this little ring at the top, and between the folds of the stirrup leather, is fastened to the saddle. This is found to be a sufficient protection. The *cañon* is a sheath of silver which rests on the stirrup and through it the two folds of leather pass.* Sometimes the buttons of the belt consist of dollar pieces, but the gauchos on the East coast are more extravagant, for their saddles are not unfrequently studded with coins, and the fringes of their belts are little pendants of solid silver.

In marked contrast with this magnificence is the huge wooden stirrup commonly worn by the people of the country. It is a large solid triangle of five inches thick, and a hole is pierced on the inner side for the insertion of the foot. On the outer side, some decoration is carved with more or less artistic skill, and an iron band is fastened to the top to which the stirrup leather is attached.† The reason for the use of these articles in preference to open stirrups can hardly be their cheapness; but it is probable that they were cheaper at one time, and that taste and fashion, as in similar cases, have perpetuated their use. The people assign as a reason that they are a protection in riding through thickets, especially where there are prickly shrubs; and we know that at other parts of the Continent a very strong protection is necessary for one side of the rider, and he always encounters these obstacles with the protected shoulder foremost.

It is curious that the term “stirrup” referred originally to what is now called the “stirrup-leather,” and there is reason to believe that this portion of the horse-furniture was originally of hemp or flax, not of hide. It was in fact the “stigh-

* Fig. 43. The width of the stirrup is $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches; the breadth at the fluted part 2 inches, and the height $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The cañon is $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches long.

† Fig. 42. The height to the top of the ring is nine inches, and the length of the curved bottom, a foot.

“rope” to assist in mounting, rather than an aid in equitation.* Thus, in the *Anglo-Saxon Vocabulary* we have “*Scansile*, “stig-rap;” and with a slight variety in spelling, the same Latin word and equivalent in Alfric’s list and in the *Nominale*.† Alexander Neckam, who lived about midway in the five centuries over which these quotations range, latinizes the English term, and gives, by interlineation, the French equivalent.‡

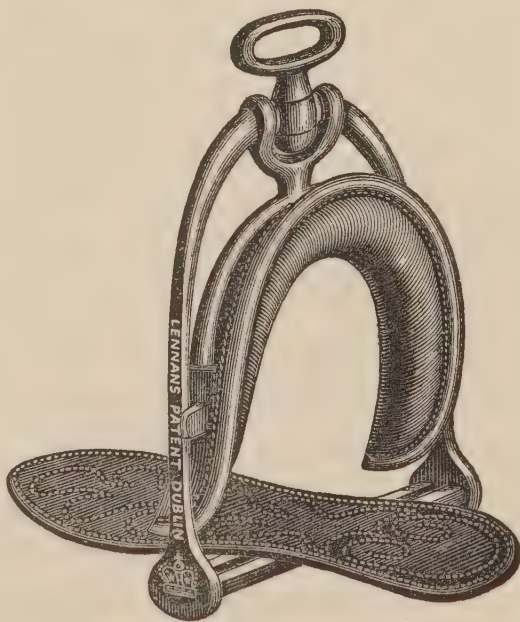
estrus idem pendent
Strepe, sive scancilia, a sella apte dependeant.



44. Horse, from the *Pict. Vocab.*

In the *Pictorial Vocabulary* there is a drawing of a horse§ saddled and bridled. He seems to be very small,—with a large saddle covering his whole side, and the pommel and cantle both high,—while the stirrup proper appears to touch the ground.

One is reminded, by similarity of appearance, of an ancient saddle of untanned hide which is preserved in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy. Some years ago, a curious brass stirrup was found in Pilling Moss, Lancashire; supposed to be Roman,|| but there is no certainty as to its age. All these are eclipsed in usefulness by the well-known



45. Lennan's Safety Stirrup (Lady's).

* In Anglo-Saxon illustrations of horsemen, the stirrup is sometimes present, and sometimes wholly absent.

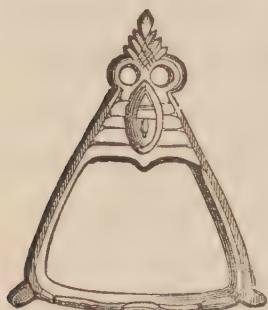
+ Mayer's *Vocabularies*, pp. 23, 84, 234.

† *Ib.*, p. 99.

§ *Ib.*, p. 250.

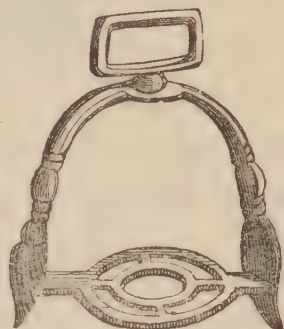
|| *Transactions of the Hist. Soc. of Lanc. and Chesh.*, vol. iii, pl. xiii, p. 120.

safety stirrups produced by Mr. Lennan of Dublin. The object here evidently is to prevent the rider from being dragged, in case of a fall; and so the foot plate yields freely in one direction, knocking up the guard for the instep. In the other direction it is immoveable.



46. Bronze Stirrup from Ireland.

The adjoining cut represents a bronze stirrup $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches high and $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide; with the strap-bar placed behind the decorated plate at the top. The whole, however, has been cast in one piece.* A companion to it, also in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy, is highly decorated, with a square revolving staple at the top, for the attachment of the leather. It is 5 inches high, 4 wide, and the foot-plate is $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in breadth.†



47. Bronze Stirrup from Ireland.

One of the things connected with my earliest recollections was a pair of beautiful saddle-bags, which had served my grandsire in Scotland, and afterwards in the North of Ireland, during more than thirty years of the last century. They were of strong leather, with one longitudinal opening in the middle, secured by buttons made of the material itself. Such things were indispensable when even the leading roads were bad in almost all parts of the Kingdom, and when wheel carriages were nearly unknown. All long journeys took place on horseback; and ladies were as familiar with the side-saddle as they are now with the railway cushion. The American Indian of to-day, stores his provisions in bags very similar in appearance; and an elegant pair, once owned by a brave

* Wilde's *Catalogue*, p. 603.

† *Ib.*

of the western prairies, is now in my possession. It is not surprising, therefore, that we find saddle-bags spoken of in England eight hundred years ago,* or that we find them, under the name *alforja*† among the people of every name who inhabit South America. There, the bottles of water and the drinking-cup are usually stowed, with anything else that the rider finds essential to his health and comfort.

It is well known that in early times, women rode astride, as men still do ; and this is the position of the Amazons as shown by ancient sculpture. In Aubrey's splendid book *Histoire Pittoresque de l'Equitation*,‡ plate B, the general effect is given in the centre of the plate, and the details round the border. It appears also, that the hundred ladies who form part of the suite of the king of Persia, and who undertake journeys of several days' duration, all ride astride.§ It is not unlikely that the same practice existed in England, in the olden time, but of that I possess no evidence ; one thing is certain however that equitation of this kind is habitual, among the common people on the west coast, especially in the neighbourhood of Lima. In the recent book of Señor Fuentes,|| among the many and interesting illustrations, there are five of this kind. They represent respectively a milk-woman, an itinerant melon-woman, a fish-woman from Chorillos, a zamba, and negroes. In the last example, the negress rides in front, and turns round patronisingly to address her husband, who sits behind her on the mule.

In writing *Ancient Meols* few subjects gave me so much

* " *Corbus*, sadul-boga."—*Alfric's Vocab.*

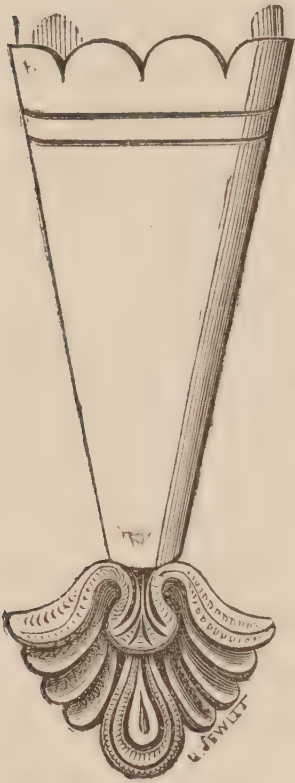
† *Alforja*, a wallet or double pouch.—*Sp. Dict.* In the end of the seventeenth century, English saddle-bags were commonly used to carry a supply of provisions, in difficult or dangerous districts.

‡ Paris, 1833.

§ Aubrey's *His. Pitt.*, plate P.

|| *Lima : apuntes Historicos, Descriptivos, Estadisticos, y de Costumbres.* Paris, 1867.

trouble as that of metallic ornaments on leather ; for though



48. Tag, from Chile.

the objects were before me, and though there was moral certainty as to the purposes which they had served, it was difficult to find either in history or pictorial illustration, instances perfectly parallel. Such instances were found however in reference to many countries ; and thus the well known prevalence was shewn of uniformity of custom, among the various members of the human family. A still greater difficulty was experienced in reference to metallic tags or strap ends ; but a reference to monumental brasses shewed their very extensive use a few centuries ago. In one of the cycles of fashion they have been reproduced, especially since the volun-

teers have been re-called into existence ; and indeed studded straps have also become common both on ladies' dresses, and on the furniture connected with stationery.

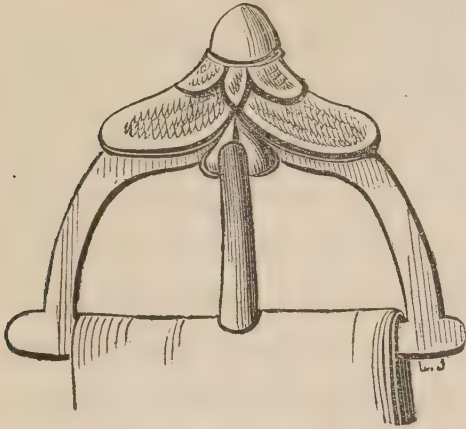
Now, a single headstall procured in Chile illustrates several of these articles which have become obsolete at home. There is the double button or stud, fastening the termination of the leather without sewing ; there is the buckle somewhat of the same type as the bosses ; there is a metallic object purely ornamental ; and finally the metallic tag. Thus, the head gear of a mediæval English horse may virtually be seen in Chile to-day.

But there is other and more primitive ornamentation, such as we can well conceive to have been employed by humble



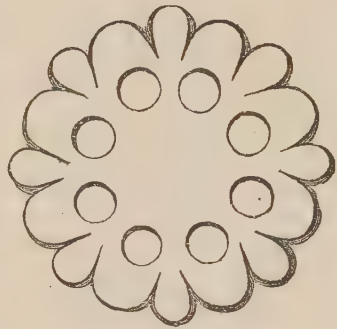
49. Stud.

people or in remote districts of Britain. Those who have seen Rosa Bonheur's picture of the muleteers crossing the Pyrennees, will remember what an interesting head gear of network and tassels in front, is displayed by each of the animals. Now the muleteers of Peru and Bolivia exhibit a similar taste; and sometimes a headstall in needlework, of

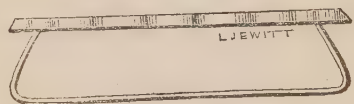


50. Buckle.

fine coloured wool, shows how much pride the *arriero* takes in his animal. In other cases, the band across the forehead and in front of the ears consists of a roll of coloured wool, and the more elaborate of these ornaments are manufactured by the wise women of Cochibamba in Bolivia.



Not unfrequently the harness consists almost exclusively of leather with scarcely even a ring to unite the parts. Pieces of thong are elegantly and skilfully knotted so as to form a complete button; and by means of this, and a corresponding button hole, almost any fastening can be effected. Thus the whip is fastened to the middle of the bridle rein, and is always uniform in kind. It lies over the croup, behind the rider when not in use. Thus also the "hobbles" are fastened round the pasterns of the forelegs, so that the animal is prevented from moving without the consent of his rider. Occasionally too, a piece of leather is pared down into fine threads; and these are used either in the



51. Ornament for Headstall.

binding up of parcels or in forming beautiful tassels which drop between the ears of the horse or mule.



L. JEWITT

52. Mule Decoration.

In the *Inventorium Sepulchrale* is figured a portion of a leathern belt beautifully carved into an openwork pattern; it was found in an Anglo-Saxon grave at Beakesbourne, in Kent, in 1773. This was stamped or embossed as well as carved, and similar examples have been found in other parts of England. At various places on the West coast, decorations remarkably like this are common. Muleteers who bring ore to the smelting works or carry supplies to the mine, are fond of decorating their animals with ornaments of carved leather.* Geometrical figures consisting of triangles, squares, and circles, with crosses intermingled, are cut out of a thick but pliant piece of leather. A layer of red baize is placed underneath as a background,

and both are then sewn down on another strong piece of leather. Two buttons of thong at the top make it easily attached or separated, and it is understood that it is not to be used in the wilderness, but at the mine or in passing through a town. Sometimes, for greater effect, little pieces of looking-glass are inserted, as in the case of one which Captain Faull was good enough to get made for me, at the Rio Salado mine.

In the little town of Tacna, I purchased from a *llamero*, for a few pence, a rope of llama wool; with which he was

* Fig. 52 represents an ornament 24 inches long and 9 broad.

accustomed to adjust the burdens on the backs of the llamas themselves, ere they started for the table land of the interior. I expected it to be elastic, and therefore only useful to a limited degree; but I found it to be remarkably firm and flexible, and in every respect an excellent rope. In plaiting ropes of a more elegant kind such as those used for slings, a very beautiful appearance is given by the alternate use of black and white wool. Mr. Ledward who introduced the alpaca into Australia had one of these, which, from its variegated appearance, he called jocularly "the snake rope." The same appearance is produced in ropes plaited of thong, and a pair of hobbles in my possession, of black and white leather, are a beautiful illustration of the snake rope.

It is only necessary to add that like all primitive people,* the natives of remote districts are fond of glaring colours; and this is shown in the poncho, in the shawl or woollen scarf of a woman on horseback, and in various other ways.

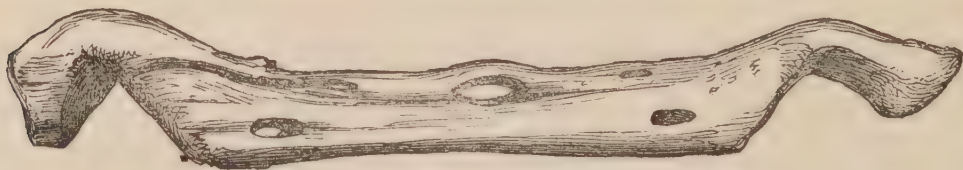
The ox cart in South Chile is of very simple construction. The frame is a truncated isosceles triangle,† the narrow end being next the cattle; and across this a few bars are tied, while holes are bored at the sides in which sticks are occasion-

* A people of taste uncultivated, or but slightly so, have always a strong partiality for gaudy colours. The "coat of many colours," was Jacob's present to his favourite son; and almost every nation has adopted some form of the check or stripe, the former of which has been a great favourite, in comparatively modern times, with the Caledonian Gaels. Any one may observe, too, on a Sunday or holiday, in Wales, the most striking contrast of colours. Davy Morgan has his coat, waistcoat, and pantaloons of three separate colours, each the most intense of its kind; while Jenny Jones who walks by his side, has a hat black as the raven's wing, a cap which rivals the snow of Plinlimmon in whiteness, a yellow kerchief, a green gown, and the skirt of this last being tucked up, we have a glimpse of a crimson petticoat, as brilliant as if dyed with the celebrated red of "Bristow."—*Two Essays on Spinning and Weaving*.

† Among the hills leading to Santa Juana, I noticed a frame which was a perfect triangle. It consisted of the bifurcation of two branches, with about a foot of the parent stem. Through this the pin was driven for the heads of the oxen; and across the two extremities the bars were laid. The furthest bar from the cattle was the base of the triangle; and the nearest to them was parallel, and bisecting the two sides.

ally inserted to form a sort of crate or open "boxing." The draught beam passes under the centre and forms the "median line;" and a wood pin passed through its extremity is fastened to the forehead of the oxen, by which it is pushed (not drawn) along. The wheels appear to be sections of a round tree; they are perforated in the centre, and are thinned off everywhere except round this hole, where a sort of umbilicus or nave is left. They are unshod, and usually there is not a particle of iron in the whole structure. Now, the Anglo-Saxon woodcart was also very simple in construction, but much more artistic than this. It had a single beam,* but was *drawn* by oxen, the traction being from the shoulder. It had sides of boards, and wheels with spokes. These are mentioned at a very early period,† though we know that cars with solid wheels exist in remote districts of the British Isles to the present hour. Several carts which I saw at the city of La Serena were much superior to those of South Chile, and resembled much more nearly the Anglo-Saxon cart. Each had wheels with spokes.

In other places we see the ox-yoke such as is common in the East, and it is dug up in bogs throughout the British Islands. The annexed very interesting example of a horse or ox-yoke,



53. Horse or Ox-yoke.

is from the Collection of the Royal Irish Academy. It was found in a bog in the county of Monaghan: it is 3 feet 9 inches long, and 7 inches deep at the extremities. It appears to have been fastened to the pole by the central hole; and there were other holes near the lower side of the part

* Knight's *Pictorial History of England*, i, 282, engraved from Cotton. MSS.

+ *Radii*, spacan or spokys."

which lay between the animals. There were also holes passing vertically through the extremities which lay beyond the necks of the animals. No doubt these served some important purpose in harnessing. The goad is in use as it was in the days of Shamgar*; but it is usually a long bamboo with a nail in the end, and not like the formidable instrument which may still be seen in England.

The plough is also very simple in structure, even the share being frequently of wood. This however, is sometimes covered by a plate of metal. It has but one handle, and is very similar in structure to the one-handled plough of the Saxons; which is figured several times in the Harleian MSS., and is represented on the Bayeux Tapestry.

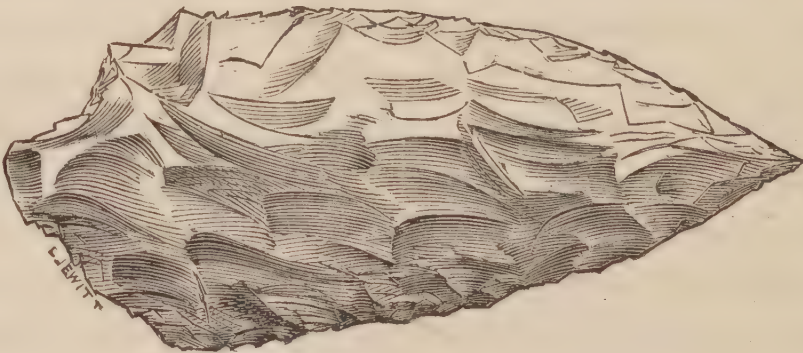
During the Crimean War, Colonel Wilson-Patten was in charge of the 3rd Regiment of Lancashire Militia at Gibraltar; and on one of the largest Spanish farms in the neighbourhood, there were fifteen ploughs of similar construction at work. One of these he purchased; and it is now deposited in the Warrington Museum and Library. On the 4th of December, 1862, an interesting account of it was given to the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire,† by J. F. Marsh, Esq., of Warrington; and he showed conclusively, its coincidence in minute detail with the plough described by Virgil, Georgic I. A plough not very different,—both being one-handled,—is still found in Italy; and the Spanish people reproduced it in South America. The plough which is seen therefore at Lima or Conception illustrates the practice of both ancient and modern Spain; and this intervening link again, connects us with the rustic implements of the time of Augustus.

* *Judges*, iii, 31.

† *Transactions*, xv (N.S. iii), pp. 1-20, pl. i, figs. 1, 2.



54. Leaf-shaped Spear-heads.



55. Elfin-dart.

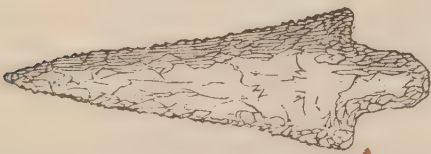
VII.—ARMS.

It is recorded that in the days of Pizarro or at the period of the Conquest of Peru, the Chilians occupied the Stone period of civilization and the Peruvians the Bronze period. Certain it is that the former were deficient in a knowledge of the use of metals; and stone implements are found there at the present day. In warfare, these were sufficiently formidable; and they are so still among the people who employ them.

It is not to be expected that during a brief visit in a time of profound peace, I should know much of the implements of war which the people would use on an emergency; but I am aware of nothing to prevent them from supplying themselves with fire arms. No doubt the governments of the respective countries would exercise suitable precautions that dangerous people might not be too readily supplied, but these would not always be successful. I saw no large firearms except in the hands of the military; but pistols are common, for protection of both person and property, especially among Europeans.

At the siege of Arauco, by the Indians, in 1861, it appears that the principal fighting-men were spearmen; and that regularly at eight o'clock in the morning they commenced the day's proceedings, and retired again at nightfall. But though spears were their principal weapons, it is not unlikely that they employed any instrument which came readily to hand,—as the musket, the sword, or the bow.

Among the articles indicating a former and perhaps even the present state of society, were two flint arrow heads procured in Araucania. One of them has a short handle for insertion, and was prob-



56. Flint Spear-point, serrated.—Half.

ably used on the end of a spear, for which it is well adapted. It is beautifully serrated* along both edges; thus affording facilities for being lashed to the handle, and likely to produce a more dangerous wound. The other may be described as an ellipse with a very long major axis. It would certainly serve the purpose of an arrow or spear head, either end being inserted in the shaft; but it is not improbable that it served a more peaceful purpose, viz., as a scraper in removing flesh from the inner side of the skins of beasts. Articles



57. Flint Scraper.—Half.

manufactured of flint are easily lost and are almost indestructible; so that they constitute a stone book in a sense different from that of the Geologist, and enable us to read some things definite respecting man, for many centuries beyond the limits of history or tradition, in any particular locality.

The old men, among the hunters of the North American Indian tribes, still manufacture flint arrow heads by a simple process;† and the extensive forgeries of similar articles in our own country, recently, by Flint Jack,‡ show that knowledge of a very simple and obvious kind, may perish among a highly civilized people, and be recovered by some of the humblest of its members.§

Two arrow heads, or rather spear heads, from the United States, present a considerable contrast to these. They were procured near the centre of the state of New York, in the country of Logan, “the white man’s friend.” They are of

* Worsaae gives a flint saw (*Afbildninger*, fig. 37) and two bronze saws, (*Ib.*, figs. 127, 128) which are serrated in a similar way.

† *Schoolcraft’s Annals*, iii, 467.

‡ For an account of Flint Jack and his performances, and for a portrait, see *Reliquary*, viii, 65.

§ Several implements in flint have been manufactured by John Evans, Esq., F.R.S., and he has shown that no material is necessary, as a tool, beyond stone and wood. He has also manufactured some with a piece of hard bone.

harder material, larger and coarser in structure ; and, what we would not expect *à priori*, they exhibit apparently less skill in the manufacture. But flint objects are found so widely scattered throughout the world, and so many degrees of skill in the manufacture are shown, that scarcely any inference can be drawn, distinctly indicating nationality. The degree of social advancement is shown with more or less distinctness ; and certain classifications have been made on this ground.



58. Barbed Arrow-heads.
Flint.

Among the articles procured was a bone, which appears to have been designed for a rude dagger. It is the leg bone of a sheep, a portion of which is broken off at one side, and the remainder sharpened. A somewhat similar dagger of bone is



59. Bone Dagger, from Peru—6 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

engraved in *Ancient Meols*, from the collection of the Royal Irish Academy ; along with two spear heads of bone, one of which is part of the leg of a horse. These latter were found, one in Lincolnshire and the other in the Thames. Similar daggers of bone have been found in Denmark.*



60. Bone Dagger, R.I.A.

Sheath knives are in very common use along the whole coast ; and their leathern scabbards are sometimes curiously ornamented by fantastical slashing. In the towns, especially those of Peru, accidents and deeds of violence sometimes occur from their too ready presence ; but I did not hear of

* *Worsaae Afbild.*, figs. 55, 58.

any such among the Indian people. There can be no doubt, however, that if their passions or interests were excited, there would be little respect shown for human life.

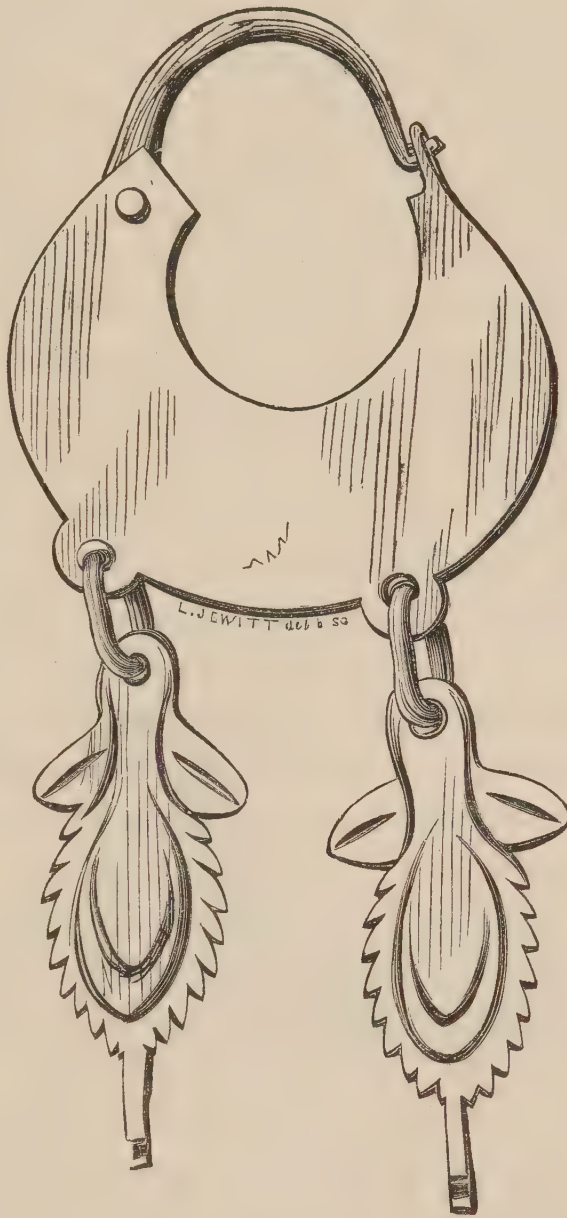
It is curious to notice how long leather is traceable after having lain in the earth. The Bronze age in Denmark is supposed to have been anterior to the first century of the Christian era, yet three implements of the period are shown with leather sheaths still distinguishable.†

VIII.—IMPLEMENTS DOMESTIC, PERSONAL, AND MISCELLANEOUS.

In the olden time, when pockets in dresses were unknown, the *gypciére* or separable bag was in common use. The necessity or the fashion of modern times has restored it, under the form of the well known satchel now commonly used by railway travellers. Afterwards, the purse was hung over the belt, or attached to the person by it; and during the existence of this fashion a certain class of thieves were known as “cut-purses.” When, about the period of the Restoration, or a little more than two hundred years ago, pockets became common, the occupation of the cut-purse was slightly modified, and he became what is still known as a “pick-pocket.”

Though pockets appear to be in use among the people on the West Coast of South America, some of the purses are of very remarkable construction. For the carrying of large sums of money they are utterly useless, because the currency among the common people consists almost exclusively of silver dollars. A forgery of some dollar notes had taken place in Peru just previous to my visit, so that in the South, notes were often refused; and Indians who brought down silver from the table-land to Tacna were obliged to carry back nearly its own weight of money in payment.

† *Worsaae Afbild.*, figs. 113, 117, 118.



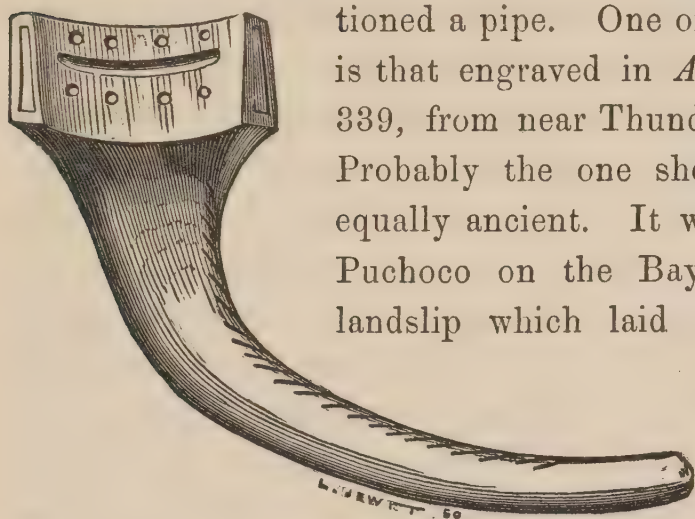
61. Silver ear-ring from Araucania.

Full size.

A common kind of purse is made by peeling off the skin of a small quadruped,* as a rat, a lamb, or a kid;—the orifices at the neck and the fore paws being neatly fastened and decorated with silk ribbon, while the rear of the animal forms the mouth of the purse. A small flap remains from the tail and each of the hinder legs. At one of the mines, I procured a large tobacco bag of this kind. It consisted of the skin of a goat, admitting the hand and arm freely. Where the head and fore feet had been, there were handsome knots and tassels, ingeniously constructed from strips of the skin itself. This article was obtained at many leagues distance from even a village, and it is an illustration of the expedients to which ordinary people will resort with the materials within their reach. An Englishman possessed it, having made it after the pattern of the country; and no doubt such things were common in the England of the olden time.

Another kind of purse is manufactured by the women of Cochibamba. It is in the shape of a doll, with arms bending round and attached at the haunches; whilst solid legs and feet are fastened below, and a solid neck and head above. There is a rude attempt at making a face in front of the head, and sometimes a little worsted cap is worked on the top. Some of the purses of this kind are closed below and open at the back of the neck; others are fastened at the head and open at the bottom. Another purse of the same material resembles the ancient bag or reticule known to English ladies; but it has two smaller purslets attached to it and opening from the interior, like the thumb and little finger of a glove. The bag itself would be serviceable; but the little purses are evidently more for ornament than use. All the three are fringed at the bottom with coloured wool.

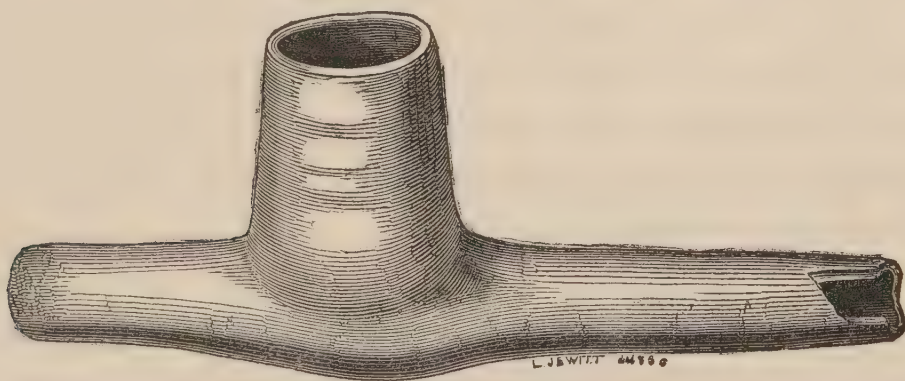
* “*Mercatores habitantes super Magnum Pontem, [Paris] vendunt*
“marsupia sive bursas, de coreo cervino, ovino, bovino, et porcino.”—John de
Garlande.



62. Ancient Stone Pipe, from Thunder Bay.

In connexion with the subject of tobacco may be mentioned a pipe. One of the oldest known is that engraved in *Ancient Meols*, page 339, from near Thunder Bay, Michigan. Probably the one shewn in the text is equally ancient. It was discovered near Puchoco on the Bay of Arauco, by a landslip which laid bare part of the skeleton of an Indian. It is no doubt a relic of the ancient period, when the

Araucanians stretched northward to the river Bio Bio, and before the Spaniard had set foot upon their soil. It is of solid stone, the bowl capable of containing about half an ounce of



63. Tobacco-pipe from Puchoco.

cut tobacco ; and the stem projecting in a right line beyond the bowl, so as to form a handle. I am indebted to Mr. Schwager and to Captain Hyder, in his employ, for their joint permission to bring it to England.

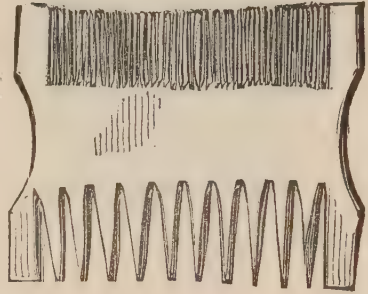
While the poorer Indian woman fastens her dress with a piece of thorn, her richer sister employs a silver pin, about

the size of an ordinary penholder or a small meat skewer. The head of this is large and thin, as if a dollar had been beaten out into a plate of double its superficial extent; and a rude figure is punched or carved upon the surface. Occasionally two such thin plates appear, one over each breast, and a similar display is made in the fastening of the girdle.

Ladies' ear-rings of silver are constructed in a manner somewhat similar to the articles just mentioned. A dollar is hammered out and formed into one or two crescents as the case may be, the points of which are attached by a strong silver wire hinged at one extremity, passing through the ear and fastened at the other. To the lower edge of this crescent small plates of silver are attached like tassels, varying from two in number to six or eight. Sometimes these crescents are of little more than the breadth of a finger, but at other times they are said to be half as broad as the palm of the hand. These thin and broad plates of silver remind us of numerous articles, somewhat similar in construction, found in the graves of our own country. The gorgets of extremely thin gold, the brooches and diadems, and the plating of shields, scabbards, &c., which are found in ancient graves in Britain, are merely the results of a little variety in the same general custom.

In our old English literature, the comb is invariably spoken of as a personal implement of great importance. It was one of the few valuables most prized by the ladies from three to eight centuries ago; and even gentlemen used the comb, not merely in their chamber but also in public. Several quotations from our elder poets and from ancient popular ballads are given in *Ancient Meols*; and woodcut illustrations show four or five which belonged respectively to the American Indians, the Ancient Irish, the Anglo Saxons, and probably the Romans.

For reasons which need not be specified in detail, the comb is an indispensable article in South America. The humbler classes, both of Indian and Spanish origin, are far from cleanly in their habits; so that what is called the “fine-toothed” comb requires a frequent application. Large numbers therefore, of a simple rectangular form and having teeth on both sides, are exposed in the markets, and appear to find a ready sale. The material is generally bone, horn, box, or some close grained

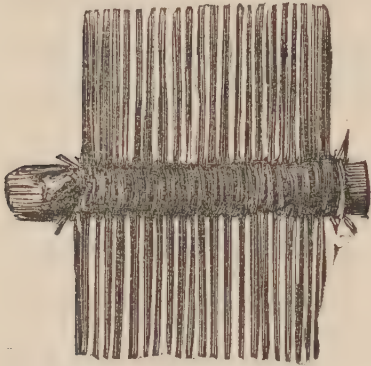


64. Common Comb.—half.

wood resembling this last. Where the comb is not at hand, husband and wife, mother and daughter, or parent and child, frequently relieve each other in a more primitive way, in the sunshine at the door of their huts. Señor Fuentes, in his beautiful book on Lima, has a woodcut, page 177, representing a soldier at the door of his hut cleansing the hair of his *rabona*.

In the Museum at Santiago there is a Peruvian mummy of a woman, which has beside it certain articles valued by her sex in life; and among these is a comb, but of a very peculiar construction. I succeeded in procuring one of the same kind at Arica; and in addition to the fact that similar articles are found in ancient graves in England, this comb is remarkable from its construction. It is well known to many that the reed which is used in weaving, for driving up the threads of the weft, is composed of hundreds of thin “splits” of cane reed, placed parallel to each other on their edges. Each end is embraced between two semi-cylindrical rods, and a waxed cord passes round these rods, after the insertion of each, to keep it in its place. Now, the construction of the ancient comb is identical with that of the weaver’s reed. The teeth are “splits” of cane, but instead

of being held at both ends they are fastened in the middle ;
and thus it is a double comb.



65. Curious Comb from Arica.
Half.

There are the two semi-cylindrical slips of wood, and as each tooth is inserted between them, the waxed cord is coiled round both. It is clear, therefore, that the comb could be made either coarse or fine, not only by varying the size of the teeth or cane-slips, but also by varying the fineness of the waxed

cord, one fold of which passes between each pair of teeth. I have seen no combs of this kind in any of the museums of the British Islands, nor is there, apparently, anything of the kind in Denmark.

Before the pottery of Delft, and of Staffordshire had superseded plates and dishes of more primitive construction on the dressers of our grandmothers, wooden bowls of various sizes were common in kitchens, in all parts of the country. These were related to the trencher* or plate of wood which many of us have seen, and to which Shakspeare† refers ; but the trencher gave place to the plate of pewter, which yielded in turn to that of white delf, the precursor again of the willow pattern and of numerous other varieties. Further, among the trades now almost extinct was that of the dish-turner ; and I have myself seen, in boyhood, a worthy man

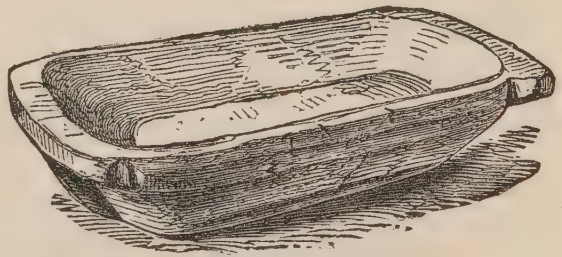
* John de Garlande enumerates *Rotundalia* among the things which cooks are accustomed to wash ; and he explains the term in a note thus—" *Rotundalia*, "Gallice *tailleurs* (*trencheurs*): et dicuntur a rotunditate." In the *Metrical Vocabulary*, "*scissoria*" is explained by the term "trenchere," and again in the *English Vocabulary* we find "*sisorium*, trenchur."

+ "I found you as a morsel, cold, upon dead Cæsar's trencher."—*Antony and Cleopatra*. "He is a very valiant trencher-man, he hath an excellent stomach."—*Much Ado about Nothing*. "Go, serve with thy trencher hence."—*Coriolanus*. "Some carry-tale, some please-man, some slight zany, some mumble-news, "some trencher-knight."—*Love's Labour Lost*.

prepare his lathe, and out of a small section of a sycamore or beech tree, turn* a "nest" of six or eight concentric bowls. These are still used in the making of butter, and occasionally in washing vessels of china and glass.

But in Araucania there is no scarcity of timber, and the lathe appears to be unknown. The working men, however, are extremely dexterous in the use of the axe. In erecting a long line of fencing, they can cut without measurement, it is asserted, and without mallet or chisel, the square or diamond holes in the upright posts, through which the horizontal bars have to pass. In like manner, out of a solid block of wood, a man will hew a dish; giving both the convex and concave turns to its outer and inner sides respectively. Of course it is primitive looking, and exhibits both within and without marks of the strokes, including a longitudinal line in the bottom, as if it were partially a trough. Still the dish is made, and this is the well known process of its manufacture. It is related to the turned dish or bowl, as a primitive axe of chipped flint is, to one of the *neolithic* period, which has been carefully ground, polished, and sharpened. A dish or bowl of this kind is given in Sir W. R. Wilde's *Catalogue*,

p. 209. It is the same which is shown in the margin. It was found in an extensive territory of turf bog called Moyn-taghs, on the south-east



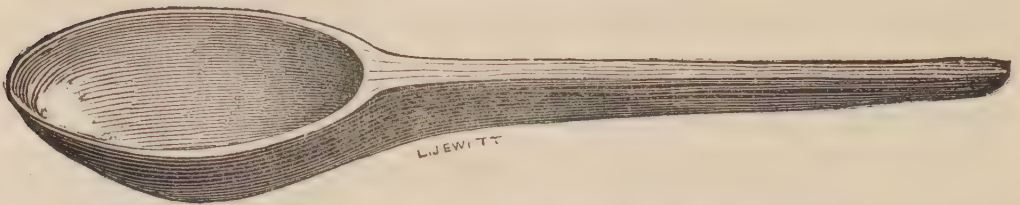
66. Wooden Bowl.

of Lough Neagh, in 1832. Though this is the smallest of the specimens in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy,

* "Turnynge or throwynge of treen vessel, *turnatura*."—*Promptorium Parvulorum*. The term "throwing" in a technical sense, is still in use in the Pottery districts. "Treen" means wooden, both in ancient English and in provincial dialects. Mr. Way remarks that "before the manufacture of earthenware, cups, mazers, and various turned vessels of wood were much employed, and the craft of the turner must have been in constant request."

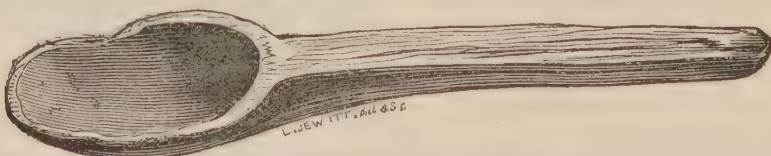
it contained a nest of smaller ones within it, when it was found.

In a manner somewhat analogous a spoon is constructed,



67. Ordinary Wooden Spoon from Santiago.

rudely cut with a knife. Both the handle and the bowl shew the chippings, and are deficient in finish and the regularity of the curves. We have a tradition in our own country, which still lingers in the universities, about the use of a wooden spoon; but the horner drove these articles out of use by his wares,* which again gave place to spoons of metal. In Harrison's *Description of England*, (1577,) he speaks of "the exchange of vessell, as of treene platters into pewter, "and woodden spoones into siluer or tin. For, so common "were all sorts of treene stuffe in old time, that a man should "hardly find foure peeces of pewter (of which one was "peradventure a salt,) in a good farmer's house." Now it is curious that the wooden spoon which is sold in the market places on the coast, at the cost of about an English penny, bears a marked resemblance to those which are found in the



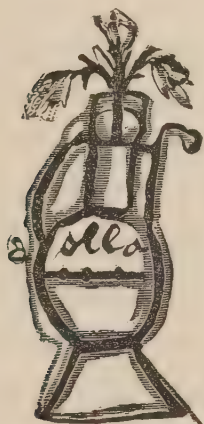
68. Wooden Spoon, from the Graves at Arica.

graves of the dead. The same sort of utensil therefore has

* At the census of England and Wales in 1851, there were nine persons whose occupation was making "bowls and wooden spoons." Horn spoons are common in remote parts of the country; but the last I saw was one which I brought from Iona in 1858. I learned afterwards that it had been manufactured at Glasgow.

existed for centuries, any difference in construction being accidental, as in the exact form of the bowl or the length of the shank.

The skin bottle, which is well known in the south of Europe, and in the East, is not unusual on the West Coast; and while it is in process of preparation one may often see it hanging inflated at the cottage doors, but turned inside out. The beautiful allusions in Scripture, to bottles of this material, are well known; * but it is not so well known that bottles and



69. Flagon resembling the
"Jack."

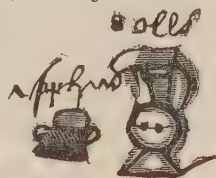
other vessels of leather were common in this country three centuries ago. The black jack† was a huge leathern jug, and the gill was a small leathern drinking cup, with a handle of the same material, accompanying it. Hence we have a well known nursery rhyme,‡ founded on the double meaning of "Jack and Gill." Along with these was the leathern bottle, or as it was invariably called "the leathern bottél;"

* Josh. ix. 4. The Gibeonites "did work wilily, and took wine bottles "old, and rent, and bound up."—Psal. cxix. 83. "I am become like a bottle "in the smoke."—Matt. ix. 17. "Neither do men put new wine into old "bottles."

+ Each took a smack
Of the cold black jack,
Till the fire burned in his brain;
'Tis merry in hall,
When beards wag all,
But we'll ne'er see the like again.

‡ Jack and Gill
Went up the hill,
To fetch a pail of water.

In the *Pictorial Vocabulary*, there is a rude drawing of both, the "jack" under the name "*Olla*, a flaget," and "gill" under that of "*Cifus*, alle manyr copys." There is on the same page a larger "olla," with a flower placed in it; but this latter is evidently not of leather. The Spanish word *olla* denotes a pot such as meat is boiled in; but on the West Coast the name is applied to small earthenware cups with two handles, each of which would contain about a wine-glass full.



70. Jack and Gill.

whose praises were sung in almost every shire in England,* and which might have been seen till within the last twenty-five years, holding the family supply of ink in remote country houses. It was superseded, however, in common use, by the tin flask, the stone bottle, the black bottle, the clear glass bottle, &c.

But, the term *uter* meant something more than a skin bottle, it signified an inflated hide, used for the purpose of crossing rivers. These must have been useful in passing through a primitive country, when rivers were too deep for fording or too broad for swimming, and when there was no coracle or "hollow oak" at hand. The inflated skin, which formed the traveller's pillow by night and his seat by day, was his substitute for a boat; and its habitual use may be inferred in some degree from the proverbial English expression, applied to a man who acts independently, that he is "able to swim "without bladders." If our pictorial illustrations of ancient manners were as minute as those of other countries,† we should no doubt see, both in fact and manner, this use of the inflated skin by our ancestors.

Now on the West Coast, there is a species of boat called a *bolsa*. It is made of the skins of two sea lions or large seals, inflated and placed side by side. Boards to form a rude deck are then laid across these, and the plugs which close the holes

* There is a short Somersetshire version in *Dixon's Ancient Poems, Ballads, and Songs of the Peasantry of England*; and a longer one in *Chappell's National English Airs*. The burden is

And I wish his soul in heaven may dwell,
Who first invented the leathern bottél!

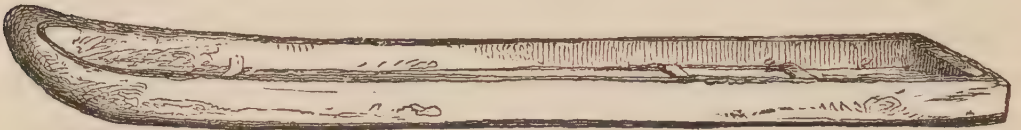
In *Alfric's Colloquy*, the shoemaker is represented as saying, "Ego emo cutes "et pelles, et preparo eas arte mea, et facio ex eis . . . *utres* . . . flascones, " . . . et nemo vestrum vult hiemare sine mea arte." In Neckam's treatise *De Utensilibus*, he describes *utres*, *cadi*, *dolea*, *ciphi*, &c., as necessary for the cellar; and John de Garlande gives the etymology of "*onophora*" thus—"De "*corio* facta, et dicuntur ab *onos* quod est vinum, and *foros*, quod est ferre, quia "intus vinum defertur." Skin bottles appear to have been in common use till the fifteenth century.

+ Layard's *Illustrations of Nineveh*, "Crossing a River,"

for inflation are in front of this frame, as it were in the backs of the animals' necks. These are not for use on rivers, but on the Pacific ; and though they may not perhaps bear a heavy load, they pass in safety through places of great difficulty. They are said to be similar in structure and use, to the catamaran of the southern and eastern coasts of India.

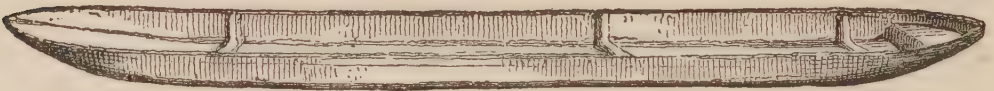
A species of boat early in use in this country was that which was carved out of a solid oak. Naval architecture was in its infancy ; yet the interior was not burned out as Friday recommended to Robinson Crusoe, but carefully chopped and chiselled out. Though the specimens which are turned up in bogs and marshes are preserved with great difficulty, from their tendency to split, warp, and rot, they are still sufficiently numerous to be well known. By a careful reference to books, probably more than a hundred might be noticed which have been found at various places. It may be sufficient, however, to enumerate a few. In England, such canoes have been found imbedded in the soil of the Medway and the Arun ; and at the draining of Martin Mere near Southport, on the Lancashire coast, so many as eight were found. In Scotland, they have been found in Lochar Moss, by the Clyde, far up in the city of Glasgow where water formerly flowed, and at numerous other places. In Ireland, they have been found in the counties of Down, Wexford and Monaghan ; in the rivers Brosna, Bann, Boyne and Shannon, and in numerous " blind lakes," or quagmires formed by the gradual filling up of small lakes. The one from the Medway was in such good preservation, that it was used as a canoe ; but then Sir James Ware, who died only two hundred years ago, tells us that they were in use in his time. They have no seats, and seldom any appearance of rowlocks ; so that they were probably moved forward by a double or alternate paddle. In some specimens, the stern was moveable, and slipped into a groove like the sliding lid of a

box. This could be made water-tight, when necessary, by a wadding of grass and clay; or it could be removed on the river's bank, and the accumulated water emptied out. The adjoining woodcut shows one of this kind. It was found imbedded in a marsh, the site of which had formerly been overflowed, at a depth of twelve feet; and it contained "a small bowl for baling, and also two rollers, apparently for getting the canoe to sea." It is 22 feet long, $2\frac{1}{2}$ broad, and 11 inches deep. It must have been hewn from a tree between 30 and 40 feet long, and at least four feet in diameter.*



71. Boat with moveable stern.

Another variety is that which is shewn here. It is sharp at both ends, flat bottomed, and with knees or pieces of wood left in three places to strengthen the whole. It is 22 feet 3 inches long, 12 inches broad, and 8 inches deep on the inside.†



72. Boat, sharp at both ends.

Believing that objects of this kind were antiquities only, I was not a little surprised and pleased to see a whole fleet of them drawn up on shore at Caldera, in North Chile. I reckoned twenty-nine, but was told that there were several more stowed away in yards. I do not know the wood of which these were made, but it was light and porous. The manufacture consisted in scooping out the centre, and giving a slight conoid, or fish-head form to each of the extremities.

I have made no mention in the preceding sections, of the

* Wilde's *Catalogue*, p. 203.

† *Ib.*

lasso and the *bolas*, because, so far as I know, neither of them was ever commonly used on English soil. But the lessons of experience shew us daily, how very little there is new under the sun ; and that it would be dangerous to assert, positively, that they were quite unknown to our forefathers.

IX. CONCLUSION.

The manners and customs of the past, like the dead whom we have buried out of our sight, are soon forgotten. Almost all our thoughts are absorbed by the present ; and civilization seems to lay upon us an additional load from day to day. Mankind have little leisure to speculate on the future, and but small inclination to prepare for it, in its best sense ; while only a few have either time or taste to make a minute retrospect of any portion of the past.

There is a period at which both books and objects become comparatively valueless. It is soon after they have been superseded by better ones ; and they become first unfashionable, second useless, and third mere lumber. But age, as in the case of wine, brings them up to a new standard of value ; for they rise in importance with their rarity, especially if they can be used in illustration of a principle. It is during this intervening period that they disappear ; that an acquaintance with them is regarded, by a certain class of vulgar minds, as impairing one's claim to respectability ; and that it requires the privilege of the antiquary, or observer and collector, to allow of their being noticed.

Sometimes several implements, indicating successive stages of social progress, and in the same department, have passed away ; and it is interesting to see one or more of these exemplified at the present day. Thus, the triturating stone and quern have found their places in the museum, and wind and water mills will also pass away as they are gradually superseded by steam.—In like manner, the spindle and whorl,

the distaff and the spinning wheel, which have gone, will be followed in time by the hand loom and all its allied implements. —The pillion and pack-saddle, too, are now unknown in England; the recollection of the basket, full of parcels and chained at the rear of our stage-coaches, is only kept up by a hind boot carved and painted in imitation of basket work, on some of the North roads; but basket, coach, and all, (and some say even the horses,) will disappear, by and by, in clouds of steam and railway smoke.

In few departments have so many changes taken place as those in connexion with warlike implements. The club of the savage has mouldered into dust, but his stone maul remains to this day. The bows of the mighty have literally been broken, their arrows scattered, and their quivers cast away:—and though archery is interwoven with the history of many of England's proudest victories, few now-a-days could tell the difference between a shaft and a bolt, or could explain the respective duties of a bowyer, a stringer, and a fletcher. The shaft of the spear rots beside the shield; but the point and socket of the one and the umbo of the other indicate, like skeletons, something of their original size. As for the broadsword and buckler, they were once legally wedded: but they were divorced in the celebrated action of James Fitz James *versus* Roderick Dhu, and the latter of the parties is since dead. Armstrong and Whitworth laugh us to scorn if we only speak of a chambered cannon or a linstock; and a beardless young rifleman stares as if we were talking Sanskrit, when the simplest remark is dropped respecting a matchlock, a fuse, a rest, or a buff and bandoliers. Even the flint-maker of a few years ago is erased from the list of armourers, (unless indeed we include Flint Jack,*) and every bare-headed urchin who can get hold of a

* *Alias* Edward Simpson, Edward Jackson, John Wilson, Jemmy Taylor, Fossil Willy, Cockney Bill, &c., &c., &c.

pistol, talks learnedly of “caps.” Who, in these circumstances, will dare to predict twelve months in advance, what species of firearm will be in use by any of the nations of Europe?

And alas for the thimble and the needle! Their obscurity cannot shelter them, nor their usefulness preserve them. Their death-note has sounded throughout the land. Wheeler and Wilson, Grover and Baker, Singer Thomas and Simpson are now the accepted candidates for public favour. Redditch, which recently boasted of its twenty-two stages in the manufacture of a needle, adapts its machinery to the production of the new automatic implements, and “worships “the rising sun;” while, almost as we write, the *Song of the Shirt* takes rank as a Historical ballad, illustrating the social habits of England in the olden time.—But why should we grieve over trifles, when the “wooden walls of Old England” are softened and rotted in the “sludge” of an obscure dock; and a monster with iron sides treads the paths of old ocean alone, exulting in her giant power whether to attack or defend. And our island home, for centuries the nursery of naval heroes, now pierces the ears even of Neptune with the clang of kitchen operations;—coking, stoking, poking, coaling, boiling, steaming. *Sic transit gloria mundi.*

It is but as it were yesterday, that the writers of History have descended from their stilts to give us information either of general interest or of any practical value. Their volumes were filled with biographies of Kings and Queens, and with the records of successive battles, and garments rolled in blood; as if nothing could interest mankind but the contemplation of royalty, or exulting in the shouts of victory, or brooding over the horrors of war. But thanks to the minute and specific inquiries of archæologists, in many departments of their general field of labour, we have now glimpses of the manners and customs of peoples, so that the dry bones of

the past have become instinct with life and reality. As one of many pilgrims in pursuit of useful knowledge, I throw my little stone upon the cairn, and thankfully pass on.

I have not thought it an unworthy employment for my very limited leisure hours, to illustrate in a new way what Hutchinson regards as the line of beauty, "uniformity amid variety," and to shew that not merely one, but many touches of nature, contribute from day to day to make the whole world kin. In spite of all that has been said about the inherent tendencies of races, (and far be it from me to depreciate the researches of Ethnologists, which have already given us a rich harvest of results,) both individuals and communities differ from each other less than is supposed. Our little world is, as Bishop Hall would say, *Mundus alter et idem*. And however the reader may feel, who takes the trouble to peruse this paper, I can assure him that to myself it has been at once pleasant and instructive, to compare the condition of distant strangers of to-day, with the past, both recent and remote, among ourselves. Even if some omissions or errors or both be noticed, I shall regard the fact as of small importance, though I have used reasonable pains to avoid them; because, while the remarks made are intended to convey information, they will yet serve another prominent end for which they were written, viz.,—to be suggestive.



73. Wooden Implement, of unknown use
From the Graves at Arica.

APPENDIX A.

As this paper will be read by many who will not have seen the previous one, just referred to, and as facts of interest have occurred since that was written, the following explanation is necessary.

Mr. John Harrison, a resident in Liverpool, transcribed from the copy of *Leland's Itinerary* in the Athenæan Library, (as he supposed with accuracy,) an account of an eruption of turf bog and foul water, occurring more than three centuries ago, at the highest part of Chat Moss. This he handed to Mr. Joseph Boulton, another townsman; who at once made this simple narrative the foundation for a most extraordinary hypothesis, or rather a series of them; at the same time claiming for them the position of theories highly probable. His paper, before our local Polytechnic Society, was a direct attack upon a portion of my book *Ancient Meols*; and some of the principles which he tried to establish were substantially the following.

1. That there never was a local "Submarine Forest," and that there is not such a thing on the adjoining coasts of Lancashire and Cheshire. [This involves the assertion that the learned have been under a mistake for generations; and that the remains of forests, both here and elsewhere, are not *in situ*.]

2. That an area of about twenty square miles—he afterward increased it to *twenty-four*—had been burst up and carried down to the sea. [This involved the subordinate fact that it had been floated down a rivulet only a few yards wide; but besides, the whole area of Chat Moss at the time was only ten and a half square miles!]

3. That this enormous land slip or non-volcanic earthquake, carried down to the sea trees standing and fallen, of which "many thousands" existed a century later. [Of course they were conveyed safely through all the narrow and intricate convolutions of the upper Mersey.]

4. That the Roman people occupied a position near Warrington; and therefore that the fibulæ, &c., found beneath the tide, near Hoylake, were probably dropped on Chat Moss and floated down also. [The existence of prehistoric, British, Danish, Saxon, and mediæval objects was not explained.]

5. That if there be a submerged burying ground on the Cheshire coast, it must have been floated down in like manner. [He did not think it necessary to explain how the burial ground came to occupy the site of Chat Moss; nor how the skeletons came to be ranged in an east and west direction after their perilous voyage.]

6. That if one such enormous disruption and flotation of turf-bog had occurred, [*only* 129 per cent. larger than the entire bog; see No. 2], who could deny the possibility of several such? Who? indeed! Hence the explanation was easy why successive beds of turf-bog were formed, deposits of sand with silt and blue clay intervening. The latter marked the interval between successive bog-slips.

7. That the coal formations of this neighbourhood, can also be accounted for in the simplest way. Successive layers of turf-bog from Chat Moss, with earthy matter of various kinds intermixed, had only to undergo a slight compression. [The learned author was not aware

that some of the most important coal beds in Lancashire lie directly under Chat Moss itself; nor did he explain how the new red sandstone was so equally placed over this imaginary stratification.]

8. It was shown to him, for the first time, (as he did not know it before,) that both in Lancashire and Cheshire there is a very large area of *subterranean* forest, the edge of which is merely exposed where it meets the tide, and lowered by being undermined till it becomes *submarine*. A further hypothesis was then propounded, that several of the huge pieces of turf-bog floated down from time to time, had been deposited side by side, [like the breadths of a carpet.]

Surely, the force of floating could no further go. I will not quote Byron's remark about Southey and his "readers too;" nor will I apologise for putting this summary on record. Unless the reader is very stupid, the amusement afforded by the perusal must be at least equal to the astonishment excited.

A slight examination showed the source of the error; and how from less than a mole hill it had attained the dimensions of Ossa and Pelion jointly. Mr. Harrison had *not* extracted the passage correctly, but had made important omissions and alterations which quite changed the sense. Mr. Boulton again, had not been able to understand what was written, a point which he omits to state in his explanation: and thus drew upon his imagination for his facts. The actual eruption was shown by me, to have been in the bed of a rivulet, the position of which was identified; the matter floated down was "stinking water" and "roulling mosse;" and the bed of the rivulet appeared afterwards with twigs in the bottom, as it had done before the accumulation of the moss, or the hydraulic clearance. Mr. Boulton had mistaken the dimensions of Chat Moss for those of the eruption, exaggerating even these: and had thus invoked a demon "from the vasty deep" which he could not control. There are such things as "Historic Parallels;" and one is reminded by these occurrences of the fact, that twenty years ago, the Fellows of a learned society meeting at Somerset House, used to say of their two Secretaries, that one could not write and the other could not read.

The bubble was burst of course. The Society which had admitted the original paper into its Transactions saved itself from ridicule or blame, by afterwards printing the actual facts and explanations in minute detail:—and here of course the matter ended. However, *quem deus vult*—but the quotation is somewhat hackneyed.

Mr. Boulton read a second paper in which *every one of the eight positions just stated*, except the first which is negative, *is abandoned*; thus virtually pleading guilty, and letting the case go against him by default. He enumerates four propositions as embodying the opinions which he *now* enunciates, only two of which are relevant to the present inquiry; viz.

"(1) That all the remains of forests and peat are like the sand and "clay *alluvial*."

"(2) That the ancient remains found associated with the peat are "appurtenant to the original localities from which the peat is derived, "and may furnish a clue to identify those localities wherever they may "be."

I do not intend to follow him farther; but it is impossible to overlook a few points connected with this latter paper.

(1) Chat Moss is not once alluded to in his *new* propositions!

(2) He might almost as well have said that the remains of forests, &c., are *pluvial* as "*alluvial*;" for they neither came from the districts near the sources of the Mersey, nor from the clouds. The fundamental proposition is quite erroneous again; but it is expressed in obscure and indefinite terms.

(3) The title of the paper declares that it is "*in reply to Dr. Hume's Communication*" (the italics are Mr. Boulton's.) How a paper which avoids EVERY leading principle in controversy can be a "reply," except in the sense of being the "last word," I am unable to see. Perhaps Mr. Boulton will be able to show that the expression is not "inexact" as the French politely say.

In short, this second paper was designed to be merely a *parachute*, to let the author gently down to earth again, from the fragments of his burst and collapsed balloon. He is good enough to say as on the first occasion, "when I charge those who differ from me with exaggeration and mis-statement, I do not wish to accuse them of dishonesty,"—an extent of charity for which about thirty men of science are profoundly grateful.

In a note appended, Mr. Boulton tries to bring me in guilty of somewhat more than an inconsistency. A local newspaper had recorded 10th November, 1865, that I undertook to "prove that no such eruption or translation as alleged had ever taken place from Chat Moss;" and Mr. Boulton adds that on the 13th of March, 1866, I "denied having given this pledge." [The quotation and dates are Mr. Boulton's, but I accept them as correct.]

The reply is very simple. (1) I no doubt made the undertaking referred to in the newspaper,—at all events I accept the expression now as the expression of my sentiments,—and it will be admitted that I have much more than fulfilled my promise. (2) But Mr. Boulton's further assertion is in direct antagonism with the fact. He attributed to me the promise that I would prove there had been *no* eruption,—an interpretation which obviously my words quoted do not bear; and in point of fact I showed from Leland's narrative that there had been a trifling eruption.

It appears then that Mr. Boulton did not see (and apparently he is not yet aware) that he was mixing up unconsciously two propositions very distinct,—the one false and the other true, viz.:—

(1) "That no *such* eruption or translation *as alleged*, had ever, &c." This is true; I asserted it: and now repeat that assertion.

(2) "That *no eruption whatever* had taken place." This is false: Mr. Boulton attributed it to me: and I denied it then as I do now.

Sydney Smith speaks of persons who cannot be made to understand a joke, by any process short of trepanning: and experience shows that there are persons, almost if not quite, as inaccessible to common sense. It is fortunate that Mr. Boulton has recently taken to the study of local nomenclature; for it is most desirable that a gentleman who is so fond of writing, should attain to such eminence in the knowledge of language, if possible, as to be able at least to understand plain English!

APPENDIX B.

The following are additional facts, respecting the subsidences of land near the sea coast; producing either actual "Submarine Forests" or phenomena of a similar kind.

1. *Ireland*.—In Ireland, *subterranean* forests are well known, not merely underlying turf-bogs—though that is where they are chiefly found—but also underneath arable soil. Sir William R. Wilde only states a fact widely known and acknowledged, when he says that "far down" "beneath the surface of our oldest and deepest bogs, we find traces of" "the hazel, and trees of the oak, the yew, and the pine, of stupendous" "size, and bearing evidence of being the growth perhaps of centuries, "either broken off in the stem, or uprooted and prostrated by the tempests and the floods which swept over these localities. This was" "before the mosses heaths rushes and grasses had collected round" "them, and in lapse of years had formed by compression, what is denominated 'turf.'"* He adds in a note, "One of the most interesting" "discoveries, connected with the ancient forests of Ireland, made of" "late years, is that by Dr. Charles Farran, the eminent conchologist. "Upon the Waterford coast, at Clonea, near Dungarvan, he found, "after one of the highest tides remembered in this county, the remains" "of an ancient pine forest, miles in length, and which is ordinarily" "covered with many fathoms of water. The sea has evidently encroached on the land at that point, probably by the subsidence of the" "latter."†

Facts of the foregoing kind might have been suggested by what has occurred at Ardmore Bay in the same county, and about twelve miles to the west of this point. There, a considerable subsidence of the land has taken place, within modern times; and the newspapers of the last few weeks recorded a further subsidence still more to the west, and within the borders of the County of Cork. It was said that part of the road was rendered impassable; and the chief agent was said to be hidden springs.‡ May the fact not have been, as in this neighbourhood, owing to the tidal action washing out the subjacent sand?

* *Catologue, &c.*, p. 198.

+ *Ib.*, 199, *n.*

‡ On the night of the 9th of December, 1868, several perches of the new railway between Huddersfield and Meltham sunk through the agency of water. I passed by the place a few hours both before and after the event.

2. *Somersetshire*.—Facts of the same general kind have been noticed on the north-west coast of Somerset; within the Bristol Channel.

Mr. Godwin-Austen has described a remarkable subsidence at Porlock Bay, near Minehead, in the *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society*. There are large submerged forest beds, and at low tides immense numbers of stumps of trees may be seen *in situ*, or occupying the spots where they grew respectively. They are chiefly, but not exclusively, oak; and though covered at times, the action of the sea again lays them bare. There is the tenacious blue mud, similar to that which is found on the Lancashire and Cheshire shores; but it is associated with an angular shingle which we do not possess.

3. *Devonshire*.—At the International Congress of Pre-Historic Archæology,* attention was drawn by several speakers to a well known submarine forest, a few miles distant from that just noticed, near Barnstaple. About three hundred yards from the pebble beach, and on some patches of peat which were only exposed to view occasionally, Mr. Ellis found a few manufactured flints, and at the depth of about eighteen inches there were thousands;—flakes, cores, with bones, teeth, and oyster shells. All these were within a superficial space of a few yards. After a storm, the trunks of large trees are observed beneath the surface. It is generally well known that the sea is encroaching there; and it is only by adopting artificial means, that the inhabitants can hope to save the land, which is being rapidly washed away. The Rev. R. Kirwan traced certain oak stakes to three feet below the surface; he also found that the stratum of peat, about twelve inches thick, rested on blue clay, and was covered by a bed of sand three or four inches thick. Most of the bones had been broken, as it was supposed for the marrow: they were, however, identified by Mr. Busk, as those of the ox, stag, rein-deer, and other more common animals.

4. *Lancashire*.—Pilling Moss, in the neighbourhood of Fleetwood-on-the-Wyre, was once so large that a common proverb said it was “endless like God’s grace.” It is now, however, broken up by cultivation into numerous fragments, like Chat Moss,—some of which bear the names of the townships within whose boundaries they lie. History, tradition, and local etymology concur in shewing that an area at least equal to the size of the original moss was at one time a forest. On the south side, there are still found numerous trunks of oak, yew and alder, some of immense size; and there is evidence that fire was one of

* At Norwich, August 23rd, 1868.

the agents in its destruction. But in this case we have a former submarine forest now above the tide : as a large portion of the forest was destroyed by an irruption of the sea, and covered by a deep bed of sea shells, sand and gravel. The sea water is now excluded ; but its former course is apparent, in a broad and deep circuitous channel, some portions of which are now five miles from high-water mark. Numerous forest remains are found beneath the marine deposit ; and antiquities of various kinds are not uncommon in the immediate vicinity.*

5. *Other Localities.*—At the Congress of Prehistoric Archæology, attention was drawn by John Evans, Esq., F.R.S., to the mounds known in Denmark as Kjökken Möddin (kitchen middens) consisting of the refuse of previous inhabitants, piled up. In England, some of these are found between high and low water mark, clearly showing that there has been a subsidence of the land. Another gentleman had found one of these heaps on the shore, at a spot where a geological “ fault ” occurs ; with a rock on each side, but no rock at this spot, to the depth of fifty or sixty yards. The land has subsided ; so that where there has been a large forest, now lost, it is necessary to restrain the tide by an embankment.—It appeared during the same discussion, that similar heaps are found on the shores of British North America ; but subsidences have not been noticed at any of them.

* Paper by the Rev. W. Thornber, in the *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lanc. and Chesh.*, vol. iii, p. 119.



LAND AND FRESH-WATER SHELLS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

By Thomas Gibson.

(READ 19TH MARCH, 1868.)

THAT part of Conchology which comprises land and fresh-water shells of Great Britain, is a science the study of which is fraught with considerable difficulty.

In the first place, the specimens which have to be studied are chiefly found in situations not very easy of access; their habitats being rivers, canals, pools, ponds, lakes, marshes, ditches, pits, running streams, and stagnant waters of all sorts; roots of trees, under fallen trees, the bark of trees, the leaves of trees, at the hedge bottoms, on the branches in hedges, under stones, amongst moss, on old walls, in damp cellars, on the roofs of houses, in woods, on heaths, in the clefts of rocks, &c. And when found they are frequently coated over with mud, slime, confervæ, &c., which is very difficult to clean off, especially as many of them are so fragile that it is almost impossible to handle them without breaking. And when the shell is clean and ready for the cabinet, then come the long Greek and Latin names, some of them having a number of synonyms.

For instance, the *Helix pomatia* of Linne is the *Cochlea pomatia* of Da Costa, the *Pomatia antiquorum* of Leach, and so on through almost every species—some of them having such a considerable number of designations, as very much to increase the difficulty a student has to overcome.

But notwithstanding all these difficulties, there is a bright side even to this study. For who can contemplate the exquisitely beautiful dwellings which some of these little mollusks, without any teaching, make for themselves, and not be struck with wonder and astonishment that the Great Creator should

have given ability to animals so small and of such a humble form, to construct habitations for themselves so admirably adapted to their necessities, and so light and portable that they can, at a moment's notice, throw them on their backs and move off to any locality they may choose ?

They are so elegant and so symmetrical in form, and so beautiful and perfect in their carvings, that they have in all ages been copied in works of art by the most talented of the "Lords of Creation," who have been lauded to the skies if, after years of study and practice, they could produce a good copy.

The land and fresh-water shells of Great Britain, like the objects of Botany and other sciences, are divided into classes, orders, families, genera, species, and varieties.

First, they are divided into two classes, and these again into three orders, and then again into eleven families, which are divided into thirty-three genera, and these again into one hundred and thirty-two species.

The number of varieties is variously estimated by different authors ; as, for instance, I have seen the number in *Helix arbustorum* stated at from three to eight, and *Helix aspersa* at from four to thirty ; *Helix hortensis* at from fifteen to one hundred and fifty, and *Helix nemoralis* at from sixteen to two hundred and thirty-one.

The two classes are—GASTEROPODS and CONCHIFERA.

The first, Gasteropod, takes its name from two Greek words, signifying belly and foot. This class all move on their belly, by extending and contracting the body. They comprise all the slugs which have no outward shell or covering, and all the univalves, both those that live on land and those that live in the water.

The second, Conchifera, is represented by only one order, *Lamellibranchiata*, which comprises all the British fresh-water bivalves, commonly called fresh-water Mussels and fresh-water Cockles.

The Gasteropods are divided into two orders—PECTINIBRANCHIATA and PULMONOBRANCHIATA.

First, *Pectinibranchiata*, comprises all the univalves which live in water and breathe through comb-like gills, from which the order takes its name.

Second, *Pulmonobranchiata*, comprises all the slugs which have no outward shell, and all the land univalves. This order also takes its name from its breathing apparatus, which is a lung-like gill. Of the twelve families, five live on land, and seven in water.

LAND MOLLUSKS.

1st—LIMACIDAE

are divided into two genera; they comprise all the slugs which have no outward shell.

2nd—TESTACELLIDAE

have only one genus; it includes all the slugs which have a small shield-like shell outside the mantle on the tail.

3rd—HELICIDAE

are divided into eleven genera, which include almost all our common land snails, such as have spiral shells, foot oblong, and distinct from the rest of the body; the eyes at the tips of the tentacles, and on the upper pair when there are four.

4th—CHARYCHÜDAE

are a very large family, although represented in the British land and fresh-water shells by only one species, and that the smallest of our spiral land shells.

5th—CYCLOSTOMATIDAE

are divided into two genera, and include all the land snails which have an operculum.

WATER MOLLUSKS.

6th—SPHAERIIDAE

are divided into two genera, which comprise all the fresh-water Cockles.

7th—UNIONIDAE

have only two genera; they include all the fresh-water Mussels which do not fasten themselves with a byssus, but live in the mud at the bottom of the water.

8th—DRESSENIDAE,

being represented in the British fresh-water bivalves by only one species, which fasten themselves to stones, &c., by a byssus.

9th—NERITIDAE

have only one representative in our British fresh waters; its shape differs very materially from every other species, and might be well described by an acorn cut longitudinally through the centre.

10th—PALUDINIDAE

are divided into three genera, which include such Mollusks as have a symmetrical spiral shell, an oval mouth, and a concentric operculum.

11th—VALVATIDAE

have only one genus, with two species; they differ from the *Paludinidae*, by having round mouths and a thin horny operculum.

12th—LIMNAEIDAE

are a very large family, although only divided into four genera; they include all such of our fresh-water univalves as have no operculum. [*The list of generic and specific names of the entire series will be found at page 343.*]

We pass on to describe a few of the most interesting species, and first the

APPLE SNAIL.

Helix pomatia, of Linne; *Cochlea pomatia*, of Da Costa; *Pomatia antiquorum*, of Leach. This is the largest of our English land snails; it is found only in calcareous districts, and has not many localities in Great Britain. I found it in 1864 near Box Hill, in Surrey, where the live mollusk was

not very plentiful. At the bottom of the hedges I found a number of empty shells, all broken precisely in the same manner, from which I concluded that it was preyed upon by the hedgehog, the badger, or some animal with a mouth large enough and jaws strong enough to bite it asunder, which may account for the scarcity of living specimens.

I also found a number of the cast-off operculums, or coverings, with which this species closes up the aperture of its shell during hybernation. They appear to be composed of common chalk, about the thickness of a shilling—and of course the shape of the mouth of the shell. It is from this covering that the mollusk takes its specific name "*pomatia*," from a Greek word, which means operculum; and not, as is generally supposed, from the Latin, *pomum*, an apple. Its very appropriate English name, of Apple Snail, is from the form and size of its shell.

It is reported as found at Dorking, Croydon, Reigate, and in Hertfordshire, Oxfordshire, and Wilts; also, as being common on the Cotswold Hills.

Helix pomatia has been generally understood to have been introduced into this country by the Romans as an article of food, and there has been a good deal of speculation on the subject by different authors. Jeffreys, in his new work on British Conchology, vol. i, page 177, enters into the subject at some length, and I think proves that its claim to be an aboriginal species is pretty well founded. Lester, who wrote in 1678, spoke of it as a native, and gave a recipe for cooking it, which does not seem to have been much approved of, as I cannot learn that it was ever much used as an article of food in England.

It is rather extensively used on the Continent, especially in the North of France. In Paris, where I saw it exposed for sale in the windows of the restaurants, it is considered quite a dainty dish. Jeffreys says, the best account of this

mollusk is by M. Gaspard ; and he makes the following quotation from his work :—

“ When the period for hybernating has arrived, these snails
 “ become indolent, lose their appetite, and associate together.
 “ Each snail then excavates, with its large and muscular foot,
 “ a hole in the ground, just large enough to contain the shell ;
 “ this it roofs in, and lines with earth and dead leaves,
 “ making with its slime a kind of mortar, and smoothing
 “ over the inner surface of its winter domicile. Having
 “ accomplished this, it closes the mouth of the shell with
 “ a thick calcareous lid, the substance of which, when first
 “ poured out from the edges of the mantle, resembles liquid
 “ plaster of Paris. It then withdraws its body far into the
 “ interior of the shell, covering, as it retires, the empty space
 “ with several layers in succession of a fine membrane or
 “ film, in order the more completely to exclude the cold air.
 “ In this snug receptacle it remains in a torpid state until the
 “ return of spring, all animal functions being in the meantime
 “ suspended. It then loosens and casts aside its winter bands,
 “ and resumes its former life.

“ In the genial month of May, these snails unite for
 “ propagation, and in June they commence laying their eggs,
 “ usually producing only a single brood in the year. The
 “ eggs are about the size of a small pea, and much resemble
 “ in colour and consistency the berries of the mistletoe.
 “ They are laid in a kind of nest, which the mother snail
 “ makes in loose earth, in order to protect them from wet and
 “ the heat of the sun. No incubation is necessary, and they
 “ are left to the care of nature. The young are developed at
 “ the end of from twenty-one to forty-five days, according to
 “ the season and state of the temperature. The little snail,
 “ when it is first excluded, lives only on the pellicule of the
 “ egg, the whole of which is eaten by it. This provision is
 “ similar or analogous to that which is appropriated to the
 “ young of land vertebrate animals.”

BRINDLED SNAIL.

Helix aspersa; *Helix hortensis*, of Pulteney; and *Cochlea vulgaris*, of Da Costa. This is a very large and handsome shell, globose in form, and about one-and-a-half inches in diameter, with four volutions; it is very various in its markings, but generally having zig-zag bands of brown and yellow, with a white rim round the inner part of the lip. The suture is well marked, but not very deep, and there is no umbilicus except in very young shells.

It is a very common snail in our hedges, and especially so in our gardens, where it is a great pest. It is a very good judge as to which are the choicest fruits and vegetables, and very destructive in its appropriation of them. Brown speaks of this mollusk as being universally diffused over Great Britain; but there are large inland districts where I have not found it, though it is always abundant in the vicinity of the sea.

Helix aspersa is very sensitive to cold, and commences its hybernation with the earliest winter winds, when it retires into a hole in some old tree or wall, under a stone, a cleft in the rocks, or some such snug out-of-the-way place.

Montague says that it forms an operculum of a *coriaceous* substance, which it throws aside on the return of summer; but experience tells me this is a mistake. I have never found it with anything more than a thin film worked over the aperture, which is always, when in hybernation, sucked fast to the side of the rock or stone, thus making the stone act as a protection against the cold and the intrusion of insects. The young shells are frequently sucked fast to the mature specimen, forming quite a cluster, probably that they may benefit by the warmth produced by contact with each other. I have more than once found a dead shell in a hole, where it appeared to have grown so much larger since entering as to prevent its return, and so cause the snail to die from starvation.

Much has been said by different authors about the manner of love-making by this snail. It is asserted that he has a pouch, containing a number of spicula or crystalline darts, about half an inch in length, which he casts at his lady-love on these occasions; but I have not witnessed any of these tender exploits, and feel rather doubtful as to the truth of the assertion.

In France, this snail has quite a celebrity for the cure of consumption. Dr. Lamare's celebrated "Helicine," which is said to be "the concentrated mucilage of snails," (if we are to believe the newspaper reports), is working cures which are truly marvellous.

Snails have long been used in England in treating for consumption and other pulmonary complaints; and I remember, about 60 years ago, making one of a party who sallied forth in search of them, to be used for that purpose.

WOOD SNAIL.

HELIX NEMORALIS.

Trachea nemoralis, of Leach; *Cochlea fasciata*, of Da Costa. This is the commonest of our British mollusks, being almost universally diffused over Great Britain and Ireland. Its form is nearly globose, a little flattened, and about one inch in diameter. The colour and markings vary more in this shell than in any known species.

Mr. Bean, in his catalogue of *Land and Fresh-water Shells of Scarbro'*, says, that "two hundred and thirty-one varieties are found in that locality alone." Some of these varieties are very beautiful, being found in bright yellow, pink, brown, flesh colour, olive, &c., and are encircled by from one to five bands of black or brown; these bands vary greatly in breadth, and some of them are confluent, running one into the other in a very pleasing manner.

Helix nemoralis may always be distinguished from *Helix hortensis* and *Helix hybrida* (both of which very much resemble it), by the bands on the inner side of the lip

being always dark brown, that of *hortensis* always white, and that of *hybrida* always pink or flesh-colour.

The sea-gull and plover will attack this snail when food of more ready appropriation is scarce. On our sand hills, where this mollusk is abundant, I have frequently seen heaps of broken shells round a large stone, which had evidently been used as a slaughtering-block, where poor snail has been sacrificed as food for these birds. Snails are a favourite food of the song-thrush and blackbird, but they generally give preference to *Helix hortensis*, the shell being thinner and more easily broken. They take their food in the night, and when the day dawns retire to their hiding place; but they always leave a slimy track behind them, by which the birds, when in search of a breakfast, can very easily hunt them out.

GARDEN SNAIL.

HELIX HORTENSIS.

Trachea hortensis, of Leach. This is a much more local species than the last; not quite so large, being only three-quarters of an inch in diameter. Its colours are quite as beautiful as *Helix nemoralis*, and in consequence of the epidermis being more glossy, it stands out even more brilliantly.

Helix hortensis has a white rim round the inner side of the lip; it differs a little in its shape, and also seems to differ in its habit, being often found amongst the foliage, even in bright shining weather; whilst *Helix nemoralis* generally remains in its hiding place, excepting after rain. It does not exhibit quite so many varieties, the largest number ascribed to it being one hundred and fifty.

A great controversy has for years been going on amongst Conchologists, as to whether *Helix hortensis* and *Helix hybrida* are separate species, or only varieties of *Helix nemoralis*. Müller, Dr. Grey, Norman, Berne, Montague,

and others separate them. Montague says he has given considerable attention to the subject, and gives good reasons for the separation. On the other hand, Linne, Foot, Gmelin, Connor, and Jeffreys, make them all one species; and Jeffreys in his new work on *Land and Fresh-water Shells*, concludes his observations on this shell in the following manner:—

“I cannot help regarding *Helix nemoralis* as the type, and
 “*Helix hortensis* and *Helix hybrida* as local or casual varieties
 “of one and the same species. I have never found any two of
 “these forms living together; and M. Bouchard-Chanteraux
 “and others have made the same remark.”

My own experience of the habits of these mollusks does not accord with that of Jeffreys. I found *Helix nemoralis* and *Helix hortensis* living together on the North-west side of East-hill, Hastings, and on the top of the hill at Beeston Castle, in Cheshire. I found them again on the sea slope, about two miles North of Scarbro'. I have collected *Helix hortensis* in various parts of England, and have always found the marks of distinction so well defined, that I have been compelled to consider it a distinct species. But not so with *Helix hybrida*, which I found on the Cheshire sand hills, living along with *Helix nemoralis*,—the distinctive marks running one into the other in such a manner, as to leave no doubt in my mind that *Helix hybrida* is only a casual variety of *Helix nemoralis*.

SHRUB SNAIL.

HELIX ARBUSTORUM.

Cochlea maculata, of Lister; *Cochlea unifasciata*, of Da Costa; *Arianta arbustorum*, of Leach. This is another of our beautifully variegated shells; it is about seven-eighths of an inch in diameter, and has five or six volutions, which are slightly ventricose; the suture rather deep and well defined. It is beautifully brindled with yellow and brown of varied shades, from cream colour to very dark brown; the lip, which

is much reflected, has a white rim round the inner side. It is reported to have been found perfectly white in one or two localities; but I have not found, or even seen, a perfectly white specimen.

Helix arbustorum is rather a local species; it is stated as having several inland localities, though I have never found it five miles from the sea. In our own immediate neighbourhood it is a very rare shell; I have discovered it in two localities only, and then very sparingly—one on the side of an old wall near Tranmere, under stones grown over with brambles; and the other, where I found only one specimen, was at the side of a pit, on the other side of Bidston Hill. The pit has since been filled up as an agricultural improvement.

The district round Liverpool abounds with the mollusks which inhabit the fresh-waters of Great Britain. Out of fifty-one species, there are found thirty-nine, which is probably a larger number than could be found in any other locality in the kingdom. The remaining twelve are chiefly peculiar to limestone districts. We have several species of local and very rare occurrence. I found *Planorbis lævis* in the autumn of 1866, in the marshes near Southport. It had for years been considered lost to the district, the only water where it has been known to exist (near Leasowe Castle) having been choked up with sand from the sea-shore.

We have *Limnæa glabra*; *Planorbis nautilæus*; *Planorbis nitidus*; *Valvata piscinalis*; and *Valvata cristata*; also, the whole of the *Cyclases*, except *Pisidioides*, a species which was not known in England until Dr. Gray discovered it in 1856 in the Paddington Canal, and has not, so far as I am aware, been found in any other locality.*

* Since this paper was read, I have dredged for this shell in the Paddington canal, and found it.

CYCLAS CALICULATA.

Cyclas lacustris, of Alder; *Sphærium lacustris*, of Jeffreys. This is a very rare and a very local British mollusk; for although Jeffreys says it is in "lakes, ponds, canals, and "stagnant water everywhere in England, Wales, and Ireland," yet I have only found it in two localities—namely, in the marshes near Southport, and in a pit near Woodchurch in Cheshire; in both places very sparingly.

According to my observations, this mollusk differs in its habits from every other species comprising this genera. It is not found among stones, gravel, or in mud, but in tufts of herbage such as the *Callitriche*, *Tannichellia*, or plants of that class, where the water is clear and in a state of quiescence, or nearly so. But what distinguishes it most from every other species, is the form and prominence of its umbones; they are very much produced and run out to points, which look round towards each other in a way which makes the difference very conspicuous. It is nearly round, and about five-eighths of an inch in diameter, exceedingly thin and fragile, very glossy and of a blueish white colour, and so very transparent that the animal can be distinctly seen through the shell.

CYCLAS OVALIS.

Sphærium ovale, of Ferussac; *Sphærium pallidum*, of Grey. *Cyclas ovalis* is comparatively a new species to the British Fauna. Tate says it was first discovered in 1856, in the Paddington Canal, near Kensal Green. But Mr. Daniel says, "that he found it in the Grand Surrey Canal some "years before it was discovered by Dr. Grey, and he took it for "a variety of *Cyclas rivicola*." I am not as tonished at Mr. Daniel's not knowing it when he saw it, as I fell into precisely the same error myself,—the clumsy manner in which I had seen it represented, and the imperfect description that I had read of it, having given me no distinct idea of the

peculiar form of its shell, which very much resembles the young of *Cyclas rivicola*. It was the annoyance I felt at this circumstance that first induced me to try to produce a more faithful likeness.

It was not noticed as found in the neighbourhood of Liverpool until September, 1863, when Walter Weld, Esq., of Crosby, announced in the *Naturalist's Scrap Book*, page 113, that he had found it in the canal. He also presented a specimen to the Derby Museum, which I immediately recognised as a familiar friend, having found it very sparingly in the canal near Litherland, in the previous summer of 1862, in company with *Cyclas rivicola*, which was very plentiful.

Cyclas ovalis is a mud shell, and can seldom be found, excepting near the middle of the canal where the water is deep and the mud very soft, which may account for its not being found earlier. Anyone desirous of finding it should be provided with apparatus to reach at least eight or ten feet into the water, or there will not be much chance of obtaining it.

PISIDIUM AMNICUM.

The shells comprising the genus *Pisidium* are all much smaller than that of the genus *Cyclas*. There is also a marked difference in the construction of the animals which inhabit them,—the *Pisidium* having only one syphon or tube, the *Cyclas* having two. The habits of the two genera are very much the same.

Pisidium amnicum is the largest, and very easily distinguished from every other species by its deep concentric grooves. It is about three-eighths of an inch in diameter, triangular in form, very inequilateral, and generally of a pale brown or deep cream colour; sometimes banded with pale yellow, and frequently eroded at the umbones. It is pretty generally distributed over Great Britain, and is found in rivers and slow running streams; seldom in pits; but few of

our canals are without it. It is generally found near the side, where the bottom is gravelly or stony.

BLACK MUSSEL, OR PEARL MUSSEL.

UNIO MARGARITIFER.

Alasmodon margaritiferus, of Brown; *Alasmodon margaritiferum*, of Fleming; *Unio margaritiferus*, of Nilsson; *Unio margaritifera*, of Drapernaud; *Damaris margaritifera*, of Leach; *Mya margaritifera*, of Müller.

The shell of this remarkable mollusk grows to the size of five-and-a-half to six inches in breadth, and two-and-a-half inches in length. The épidermis is jet black, from which it has obtained one of its common names. It is generally found among stones or gravel, in mountain streams or quick running rivers; but seldom in pits, muddy rivers, or canals, which are the common habitats of every other species composing this genera.

Unio margaritifera has a celebrity for its pearls, which dates back as far as the knowledge of English history. It is said that Cæsar made a journey to Britain for the express purpose of obtaining pearls, and that on his return he presented to the Temple of Venus Genetrix a buckle composed of those precious jewels. It is said, also, that Linnæus, the great Swedish naturalist, discovered the means of making this mollusk produce pearls at his pleasure, to which circumstance he was indebted for his elevation to nobility; and of such importance was this discovery considered, that he was also rewarded by the State with a munificent premium.

Pearl fisheries have been established, at different periods, on the borders of several rivers in the British dominions; one on the Tay, in Scotland, extended from Perth to Tay-loch, and was very prolific. Pearls were sent to London from this fishery in the three years between 1761 and 1764, amounting in value to ten thousand pounds sterling; one was found that weighed thirty-three grains.

Montague, in 1803, says that through the avarice of its conductors the Tay fishery has been exhausted. But Captain Brown, in 1844, writes, that it was not uncommon at that time to find in the Tay pearls worth from one to two pounds. In 1799, Donovan makes the following quotation from Pennant, who wrote in 1777:—

“This shell, says Pennant, is noted for producing quantities of pearls. There have been regular fisheries for the sake of this precious article in several of our rivers; sixteen have been found in one shell. They are the disease of the fish analogous to the stone in the human body. On being squeezed they will eject the pearl, and often cast it out spontaneously on the sand. The Conway was noted for them in the days of Camden. A notion also prevails, that Sir Richard Wynne, of Gwydir, chamberlain to Catherine, Queen to Charles the Second, presented her Majesty with a pearl (taken in the river), which is to this day honoured with a place in the regal crown. They are called by the Welsh *cregin diliew*, or deluge shells, as if left there by the flood.

“The Irt, in Cumberland, was also productive of them. The famous circumnavigator, Sir John Hawkins, had a patent for fishing that river. He had observed that pearls were plentiful in the Straits of Magellan, and flattered himself with being enriched by procuring them within his own island.

“In the last century, several of great size were found in the rivers in the counties of Tyrone and Donegal in Ireland. One weighing thirty-six carats was valued at forty pounds, but, being foul, lost much of its worth. Other single pearls were sold for four pounds ten shillings, and even for ten pounds. The last was sold a second time to Lady Glenlealy, who put it into a necklace, and refused eighty pounds for it from the Duchess of Ormond.”

The following is a quotation from Bœtius, translated by Willenden in 1541, and will serve to shew, in his own quaint style, what curious notions were entertained in his day about British shells :—

“In the horse mussillis are *generit perlis*. This mussillis
“airlie in the morning, when the lift is clear and temperate,
“openis thair mouthis a little above the watter, and maist
“gredelie swellis the dew of heaven, and aftir the measure
“they swellie, they conceive and breidis the perle.”

Camden, at a much later period, speaking of the little river Irt, in Cumberland, says, the shell-fish by an irregular motion take in the dew, which they are very fond of, are impregnated, and produce pearls.

SWAN MUSSEL.

ANODON CYGNEA.

The genus *Anodonta* differs from the genus *Unio*, in having a much thinner shell, in being without teeth, and growing to a much larger size.

Anodon cygnea, the Swan Mussel, will sometimes grow to be eight inches broad and four inches long. It is rather glossy, ventricose, and deeply marked with concentric grooves; the colours vary from dark brown to green, olive, and yellow. It is a mud shell, and may be found in pits, canals, and slow muddy rivers in almost any part of Great Britain and Ireland. Jeffreys describes and gives the names and localities of five different varieties.

DUCK MUSSEL.

ANODON ANATINA.

Is much smaller than the last species, seldom reaching more than four inches broad and three inches long. The epidermis is usually thicker and more glossy; also brighter and more variegated in its colours, having green rays as well as concentric bands of brown, yellow and olive. It is much

more pointed than *Anodon cygnea*, and differs also in shape, being longer, and not so broad according to its size. This is also a mud shell, and very generally distributed over Great Britain. Jeffreys gives the names and description of this species as follows:—

Variety 1st—RADIATA.

“Shell marked with green and yellow rays.”

Variety 2nd—VENTRICOSA.

“Shell larger, more solid, and exceedingly tumid, especially “in the middle and towards the umbonal region; also marked “with green and yellow rays; *Ventricosa*, of Pfeiffer.

Variety 3rd—COMPLANATA.

“Shell oval, greatly compressed, and brown beaks placed “close to the anterior margin; upper margin raised and “curved; anterior side abruptly truncate. *A. Complanata*, “of Rossmässler.”

I found a variety of this species in a pit near Crosby, which I have not seen described in any work. It is in shape and colour like *Unio pictorum*, or painter's mussel, and might have been easily mistaken for it. In the absence of a name, I have for the present called it *Anodon anatina*; variety *Pictonoides*.

ZEBRA MUSSEL.

DREISSENA POLYMORPHA.

Is in shape very much like our common edible mussel, and like it too, fastens itself by a byssus (which it spins for the purpose) to stones, timber, dead shells, or whatever comes in its way. The shell of this mollusk exhibits great variety in shape; some specimens are very grotesque. It is from this circumstance that it has got its specific name of *Polymorpha*. Its markings, too, are very various; some zig-zag, and others beautifully striped like a Zebra, from which it takes its English name of Zebra Mussel.

It is a matter of uncertainty as to what country can claim

it as a native. It seems to have been first noticed in Russia, where it obtained the name of *Mytilus polymorpha*. The first record we have of it in England was in 1824, by Sowerby, who speaks of it as being in great abundance in the Commercial Docks on the Thames. But Bellars says, "many years previous to that it had been observed in great profusion in Whittlesey Mere, Chester Canal, River Thames, and the River Nene at Wisbeach." Since that time it has spread very rapidly over almost every part of England, as will appear by the following quotation from *Tate's Mollusks of Great Britain*, published 1866:—

"In 1833 it was found in vast abundance in the Clyde and Forth Canal, Glasgow; in 1834 it appeared in the Union Canal, Edinburgh; and in 1836 it was found in considerable numbers on the piers of the bridge which crosses the Nene, at Fotheringay, in which locality it had been introduced from Wisbeach, on timber, since 1828. In 1837, the late Hugh Strickland found it completely established on the beds of gravel in the river Avon, at Evesham, and also in the canal between Warwick and Birmingham, and in the canals near Wednesbury in Staffordshire. He remarked that, as its propagation was so astonishingly rapid, it would become in a few years one of our commonest British shells. This has proved so true, that not only has it found its way throughout England, literally paving with its shells the beds and sides of our navigable rivers and canals, but it has even taken up its quarters in the water pipes of London and Manchester, &c.

"The Zebra Mussel made its appearance in the neighbourhood of Gloucester a few years after the opening of the Gloucester and Berkeley Canal, and has increased in numbers to such an extent, that it may be said to line the banks from the edge of the water to a considerable depth, throughout its entire length of sixteen miles. It

“ appears in every available inch of space, from the water-line
 “ to the depth of fifteen or sixteen feet, upon the dock walls
 “ at Gloucester. It is very tenacious of life, and exceedingly
 “ prolific, provided the locality is favourable.”

I have specimens which I found in the canal near Litherland, the Chester Canal, Regent's Canal, and the River Leam.

I may say, in conclusion, that GOD, who created the heavens and the earth, the sea, and every living creature that existeth therein, has given these little mollusks a very important part to perform in the economy of nature. They serve as food for ducks, geese, and other poultry ; wild birds of various kinds ; for fish, and various other inhabitants of our waters. They are also food for a great number of animals, and some of them both food and medicine for the human race. They act as scavengers, clearing away various sorts of animal and vegetable matter when in a state of putrefaction. They also neutralize the poisonous quality engendered by too much vegetation in our stagnant waters ; and though they number one hundred and thirty-two species, we are accustomed to call them all by one common name.

GENERIC AND SPECIFIC NAMES.

ARION	SUCCINEA (continued)	HELIX (continued)
„ ater	„ oblonga	„ aspersa
„ hortensis	VITRINA	„ nemoralis
GEOMALACUS	„ pellucida	„ hortensis
„ maculosus	„ Draparnaldi	„ arbustorum
LIMAX	ZONITES	„ Cantiana
„ gagates	„ cellarius	„ Cartusiana
„ flavus	„ alliarius	„ rufescens
„ maximus	„ nitidulus	„ concinna
„ agrestis	„ purus	„ hispida
„ arborum	„ radiatulus	„ cericea
„ marginatus	„ nitidus	„ fusca
„ brunneus	„ excavatus	„ revelata
TESTACELLA	„ crystallinus	„ Pisana
„ Haliotidea	„ fulvus	„ virgata
„ Maugei	HELIX	„ caperata
SUCCINEA	„ lamellata	„ ericetorum
„ putris	„ aculeata	„ rotundata
„ elegans	„ pomatia	„ rupestris

HELIX (continued)	ACHATINA	BALIA
„ pygmaea	„ acicula	„ perversa
„ pulchella	CARYCHIUM	HYDROBIA
„ lapicida	„ minimum	„ similis
„ obvoluta	CYCLOSTOMA	„ ventrosa
„ aperta	„ elegans	VALVATA
„ limbata	ACME	„ piscinalis
BULIMUS	„ lineata	„ cristata
„ acutus	CYCLAS	PLANORBIS
„ montanus	„ corneum	„ lineatus
„ obscurus	„ pisidioides	„ nitidus
PUPA	„ rivicola	„ loevis
„ secale	„ ovalis	„ Nautilus
„ ringens	„ caliculata	„ albus
„ umbilicata	PISIDIUM	„ vortex
„ marginata	„ amnicum	„ contortus
VERTIGO	„ fontinale	„ spirorbis
„ antivertigo	„ Henslowianum	„ corneus
„ Moulinsiana	„ pulchella	„ carinatus
„ pygmaea	„ cinereum	„ marginatus
„ alpestris	„ pusillum	PHYSA
„ substriata	„ nitidum	„ hypnorum
„ pusilla	„ roseum	„ fontinalis
„ angustior	UNIO	LIMNAEA
„ edentula	„ tumidus	„ glutinosa
„ minutissima	„ pictorum	„ involuta
BYTHINIA	„ margaritifer	„ auricularia
„ tentaculata	ANODON	„ palustris
„ Leachii	„ anatina	„ truncatula
CLAUSILIA	„ cygnea	„ glabra
„ rugosa	DREISSENA	„ stagnalis
„ Rolfii	„ polymorpha	„ peregra
„ biplicata	NERITINA	ANCYLUS
„ laminata	„ fluviatilis	„ Fluviatilis
COCHLICOPA	PALUDINA	„ lacustris
„ tridens	„ Listeri	ASSIMINEA
„ lubrica	„ vivipara	„ Grayana

NOTE BY THE HON. SECRETARY.

As the majority of those who devote themselves to the pursuits encouraged by this Society can only do so in those snatches of leisure which are taken out of the imperative occupations of daily life, it seems worthy of observation that the writer of the above paper is a gentleman in his 73rd year: who up to the last few years was so absorbed in business as to have no leisure for other pursuits, nor any knowledge of scientific matters. It was not until his retirement, and indeed till the commencement of the "Naturalists' Field Club" on the 8th of June, 1860, when 65 years of age, that he turned his attention to Conchology, Botany, and kindred subjects in Natural History, in which he is now well known to be a most persevering and successful student and searcher, and to have made a most complete and valuable collection. His example may well be pointed out to encourage others.

PROCEEDINGS,
TWENTIETH SESSION, 1867-68.

~~~~~

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,

*Royal Institution, Colquitt Street, Liverpool, 18th October, 1867.*

PETER R. M'QUIE, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

The SECRETARY read the following

REPORT.

DURING the last year, eighteen ordinary Meetings have been held, three of which have been of a miscellaneous character, when the friends of Members, including ladies, were present. The plan of conducting the business of the Society by Committees of the various Sections having been found inconvenient, it has been thought desirable, while preserving intact the objects for which the Society was established, to make such changes in its constitution as it is hoped will tend to its more successful working. Early in the Session, the Council appointed a Committee to consider whether it would be desirable to alter the laws, with a view to the abolition of the Sectional divisions; also, whether the Meetings should be held fortnightly instead of thrice a month; and further, whether the Society's place of meeting could be changed with advantage. This Committee, after due consideration, recommended that the existing laws be repealed, and a new code adopted in their stead, which should effect the following changes in the constitution of the Society, viz.:—

- 1.—Abolition of the Sectional Divisions.
- 2.—Re-arrangement of Meetings.
- 3.—Reduction of the number of the Members of the Council.
- 4.—Provision for the appointment of Associates.
- 5.—Provision for the appointment of Local Secretaries.

It was also recommended that the Society's place of meeting should be changed from the Free Library to the Royal Institution, Colquitt Street.

The proposed changes were submitted to the Members for approval at a Special General Meeting, held July 1st, 1867, when they were unanimously adopted. In accordance with this resolution, the new code of Laws has been printed, and will be included in the current volume of the Proceedings. The Library and other property of the Society has been removed to the Royal Institution, where the future Meetings of the Society will be held.

During the year, the Society has lost the valuable services of Mr. Genn, as Assistant Secretary. He had been the stipendiary Secretary of the Society for about ten years, and by his zeal and ability contributed in no small degree to its success. Mr. Genn's services were acknowledged by a special resolution of the Council, recording their sense of the admirable manner in which he had fulfilled the duties of his office, and recommending his election as a Life Member, without payment of fees, which proposal has been adopted. Mr. Chas. Dyall succeeds Mr. Genn as Assistant Secretary. Changes have also taken place in the Honorary Officers of the Society. Mr. Waterhouse has resigned his position as Honorary Secretary, and Mr. David Buxton, at the request of the Council, has undertaken the duties of that office, Mr. Waterhouse succeeding him as Honorary Librarian. A further change will have to be made at the present Meeting. Mr. Burke, after seven years of assiduous attention to the interests of the Society in the office of Treasurer, feels bound by the state of his health to discontinue his services, though his colleagues hope to enjoy the benefit of his experience and advice as a Member of the Council.

The Balance Sheet exhibits a satisfactory result, and the Annual Volume is now ready for distribution among the Members.

The Society may be congratulated upon the fact that, during the past year, the noble collection of objects of antiquity which belonged to Mr. Joseph Mayer, President of this Society, has become, by his free gift, the property of the public. In a community like this, it could hardly fail that so much disinterestedness and public spirit should meet with suitable acknowledgment. Many such acknowledgments, in which the Members of the Historic Society have taken their part, have already been made; but the Council think that special allusion by them in the Report of the Society is peculiarly appropriate and due, on account of the character of the collection itself, as illustrating their own pursuits and purposes, and because of the intimate connection of the donor with this Society, as one of its founders, and from the first one of its chief officers, and now its President. This sentiment, they feel assured, will be heartily approved by the Society.

It was moved by Mr. HENRY DAWSON, seconded by Mr. SANSOM, and resolved unanimously :—

That the Report now read be adopted, and printed and circulated with the Proceedings of the Society.

On the motion of Mr. BRAKELL, seconded by Mr. GREENWOOD, it was resolved :—

That the thanks of the Society be given to the Officers and other Members of the Council for their services during the past year.

Mr. BURKE, Treasurer, read the following Statement of Accounts for the Year ending 18th October, 1867:—

THE HISTORIC SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE *in Account with*

| <i>Dr.</i>                          | WILLIAM BURKE, <i>Treasurer.</i> | <i>Cr.</i>                                                   |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>I. THE VOLUMES:—</b>             |                                  | Oct. 18, 1867.                                               |
| Balce. delivery Vol. VI, N.S. 0 3 2 | £ s. d.                          | By Balance from Session XVIII, 1865-66 ..... £ s. d. 1 19 11 |
| Delivery, Vol. VII., N.S. ... 5 0 0 |                                  | „ Receipts in Session XIX, viz:—                             |
| Printing and Binding ditto 74 6 7   |                                  | Arrears ..... 34 2 6                                         |
| Illustrating ditto ..... 12 9 0     | 91 18 9                          | Entrance Fees ..... 3 3 0                                    |
|                                     |                                  | Annual Subscriptions, Ses. XIX 155 18 6                      |
| <b>II. SESSIONAL EXPENSES:—</b>     |                                  | Ditto in advance, Session XX.. 1 1 0                         |
| Printing and delivering             |                                  | Compositions for Life Member-                                |
| Circulars &c. .... 15 13 6          |                                  | ship ..... 21 0 0                                            |
| Stationery ..... 1 12 0             |                                  | Balance of Special Account .. 18 6 3                         |
| Postage Stamps ..... 5 12 1         |                                  | Books and book covers sold .. 5 5 2                          |
| Refreshments at Meetings 11 2 0     |                                  |                                                              |
| Advertisements, Messages,           |                                  |                                                              |
| Parcels & Miscellaneous 5 4 11      |                                  |                                                              |
| Insurance of Stock ..... 1 8 0      |                                  |                                                              |
| Commission to Collector.. 4 9 3     |                                  |                                                              |
| Assistant Secretaries .... 37 10 0  | 82 11 9                          |                                                              |
|                                     |                                  |                                                              |
| <b>III. PERMANENT CHARGES:—</b>     |                                  |                                                              |
| Repairing and fitting cases         |                                  |                                                              |
| in Museum ..... 8 10 2              | 8 10 2                           |                                                              |
|                                     |                                  |                                                              |
| <b>IV. SPECIAL EXPENSES:—</b>       |                                  |                                                              |
| Removal of Books and Fur-           |                                  |                                                              |
| niture from Free Library            |                                  |                                                              |
| to Royal Institution.... 1 1 0      | 1 1 0                            |                                                              |
|                                     |                                  |                                                              |
| Balance carried down ..... 56 14 8  |                                  |                                                              |
|                                     | £240 16 4                        |                                                              |

By Balance brought down ..... £56 14 8

Liverpool, 18th October, 1867.

E. & O. E.

Examined,

(Signed) WILLIAM BURKE, *Treasurer.*

(Signed) PETER R. M'QUIE, } *Auditors.*  
E. F. EVANS, }

It was moved by Mr. SANSOM, seconded by Mr. EVANS, and resolved unanimously:—

That the Treasurer's Statement of Accounts for Session XIX, 1866-67, now read, be passed, and printed and circulated with the Proceedings, and that the best thanks of the Society be given to Mr. William Burke for his valuable services as Treasurer during the last seven years.

A ballot having been taken for the Officers and Members of the Council, the result was announced from the Chair. (See page iv.)

November 14th, 1867.

JOSEPH MAYER, F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By the Rev. Dr. Hume.

1. A Lasso, from South America.
2. Ear-rings worn by Indian women in Chili.
3. Specimens of stirrups worn by Indian Chiefs and common horsemen in South America.

By Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith.

1. *Quern*, or hand-mill, found in Kirkcudbrightshire, composed of common Scotch granite, about 15 in. diameter, and interesting in exhibiting both the original and recent mode of use. In the upper portion, or *Rider*, is the socket in which an instrument worked the mill in the grinding of grain, acorns, &c. Latterly it has been applied to the bruising of barley for the still, and no instrument or handle being forthcoming, holes have been made in the upper surface for the insertion of the end of the finger or thumb in what must have proved a very tedious process of rotation.
2. A small object of *Ivory*, lately found under the window-sill of the oldest house in Crawshaw-booth, built in 1610, and locally known as "The Mansion House." It is supposed to have belonged to a game of chance, and is inscribed in punctured characters—

|                                 |                                     |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| . A . . . GOOD . . . WIFE . . . | . . . BUT . . . SUM . . . DO . . .  |
| . . . MAKES . . . HER . . .     | . . . LIKE . . . 1693 . . . A . . . |
| . . . HUSBAND . . . SING;       | . . . SERPENT . . . STING.          |

A relic of a similar character he stated to be in the possession of an antiquarian friend, Mr. Richard Walter, of Percombe Hill, Somerset, but bearing the inscription—

"Now man with man is so unjust,  
"That one can scarce tell who to trust."

3. Donation to the Society by Mr. Smith.

A chromo-lithograph, lately published by himself, and accompanied by a letter-press description of a Roman Mosaic Pavement, found at Aldborough, Yorkshire, the ancient *Isurium-Brigantum*. It has been admirably rendered, *tessera* for *tessera*, by Mr. Joseph Worrall,—a perfect *fac-simile* of the original. The design portrays the historic infants, *Romulus* and *Remus*, as found suckled by a large *wolf* at the mouth of the celebrated cavern under the Palatine Hill (recently re-discovered), and sheltered by a *fig-tree*, where the box or cradle which contained them had been stranded through an inundation of the Tiber, in place of being carried out to sea, according to the murderous intention of their relative Numitor,

king of Alba. Although this design is occasionally met with upon coins, both of the earlier and later Empire, it has rarely been found either in Sculpture, Mosaic, or Fresco, and this is the only known instance of its representation in a Romano-British Mosaic.

The President's Opening Address was read—"ON THE STUDY OF ARCHÆOLOGY."\*

---

*November 28th, 1867.* MISCELLANEOUS MEETING.

Dr. Hume exhibited a large number of articles collected in South America, consisting of Domestic Utensils, Implements of Husbandry, Trappings of Horsemen, Natural Products, &c., &c., and in connection with their history read the following Paper:—

"ILLUSTRATIONS OF BRITISH ANTIQUITIES, DERIVED FROM OBJECTS FOUND IN SOUTH AMERICA."†

---

*December 12th, 1867.*

WILLIAM MATHISON, Esq., in the Chair.

The following gentlemen were duly elected Ordinary Members of the Society:—

Miles Pilling Elsby, Esq., Bebington.

Gilbert G. Walmsley, Esq., Lord Street.

Frederick Boyle, Esq., F.R.G.S.

James Pickering, Esq., Fisher House, Orrell.

The following Papers were read:—

ON THE ANCIENT CASTLE AT BURY, LANCASHIRE,‡ *by Charles Hardwick, Esq.*

NOTES UPON WAR MEDALS, NAVAL AND MILITARY,|| *by J. Harris Gibson, Esq.*

---

*January 9th, 1868.*

T. T. WILKINSON, Esq., F.R.A.S., in the Chair.

The following gentlemen were duly elected Ordinary Members of the Society:—

Rev. Charles Jones, Rock Ferry.

J. T. Ellerbeck, Esq., Bold Street, Liverpool.

\* Transactions, p. 1.

† Transactions, p. 215.

‡ Transactions, p. 17.

|| Transactions, p. 13.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By the Rev. Dr. Hume.

Various Photographs of the Compagnia Church at Santiago, Chili, after its destruction by fire.

By W. D. Chidson, Esq.

A Collection of Prize Photographs.

The following Paper on Photography was read :—

“THE MORTAR PHANTOM AND ITS METEOROLOGICAL SEQUENCE,” by *T. Skaike, Esq.*

---

*January 23rd, 1868.*

WILLIAM MATHISON, Esq., in the Chair.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By Mr. J. H. Gibson.

An original drawing of Prince Rupert's Cottage, and two volumes of Goldsmith's and Parnell's Poems, beautifully illustrated with wood engravings by Bewick.

By Mr. Wood.

Specimens of Copies of Wood Carvings made by Machinery.

Mr. Forrest suggested the desirability of the Society taking steps to obtain and preserve the biographies of eminent men in the two Counties of Lancashire and Cheshire. After an interesting conversation on the subject, Mr. J. T. Kilpin undertook to prepare a biographical sketch of the late Mr. Elmes, Architect of St. George's Hall, &c., &c., and to read the same at a future Meeting of the Society.

The following Paper was read :—

ON THE HISTORIC PERIODS OF ENGLISH ARCHITECTURE AND ARCHÆOLOGY; FIRST PERIOD, THE ROMANO-BRITISH,\* by *H. H. Vale, Esq., F.R.I.B.A.*

---

*February 6th, 1868.*

WILLIAM MATHISON, Esq., in the Chair.

In opening the Proceedings, the CHAIRMAN alluded to the death of a valued Member of the Society, Mr. William Rathbone. After highly eulogising the character of the deceased gentleman, he moved, seconded by Mr. DAVID BUXTON, Honorary Secretary, and it was unanimously resolved :—

That a minute be entered on the records of the Society expressive

\* Transactions, p. 67.

of regret at the decease of its venerable member, the late William Rathbone, Esq., and its desire to add its tribute of respect and admiration to the character of the deceased, and of sympathy with the members of his family.

William Cunliffe Brooks, Esq., M.D., of Barlow Hall, near Manchester, was duly elected an Ordinary Member of the Society.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By Mr. A. C. Gibson.

A drawing of an old Farm-house in Cumberland, the birth-place of Fletcher Christian, the Mutineer of the Bounty.

By Mr. David Buxton.

A gold coin of the reign of John V., of Portugal, bearing the date 1730, being remarkable for the beauty of its execution and its good state of preservation.

By Mr. J. R. Hughes.

The nest of the Baya, an East Indian Bird.

The following Paper was read :—

ON THE LAKELAND OF LANCASHIRE, No. IV.,\* *by A. C. Gibson, Esq., F.S.A.*

---

*February 20th, 1868.*

Rev. Dr. HUME in the Chair.

The following gentlemen were duly elected Ordinary Members of the Society :—

Rev. W. R. Burgess.

Samuel Smith, jun., Esq.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By Mr. H. E. Smith.

Specimens of barbed arrows of bone, casts of perforated bones, and portions of tusks of Mammoth, carved with a representation of that extinct monster; Celts and Spear-heads of flint: all from the South of France; also a Spear-head from Norfolk, and a Stone Malleus from North America, found upon the quays of the Liverpool North Docks.

By the Rev. Dr. Hume.

Several vessels of domestic use employed by the South American Indians to contain food for burial with the dead.

\* Transactions, p. 47.

The following Papers were read :—

NOTICE OF MAMMALIAN REMAINS RECENTLY FOUND IN WIRRAL, *by Mr. H. E. Smith.*

NARRATIVES OF PERSONS LOST IN THE SOUTH AMERICAN DESERTS, *by the Rev. Dr. Hume.*

March 5th, 1868.

JOSEPH MAYER, Esq., F.S.A., in the Chair.

Mr. T. J. Kilpin, 6, Grove Street, Liverpool, was duly elected an Ordinary Member of the Society.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By Mr. Charles Potter.

A personal leathern strap, replete with silver studs, supposed to have been in use about the 15th century ; found last year on the shore near Hoylake.

By the President.

A Terra-Cotta Tile, found in the garden of Mr. R. H. Foster, Mersey Terrace, Bebington, by his son Richard Radclyffe, and presented by him to the Mayer Collection in the Town Museum. It is interesting as probably having belonged to the old Church, not far distant from where it was found, as well as from the quaint inscription upon it, which is drawn in a white slip or glaze upon brown glaze ground, which reads thus :—

|                       |      |                               |
|-----------------------|------|-------------------------------|
| (Remeember) yi life   | (or) | Remember thy life             |
| May not ēu endure,    |      | May not ever endure,          |
| Yat yow dost yi self  |      | That thou doest thyself       |
| Of yat yow art sure ; |      | Of that thou art sure ;       |
| But yat yow kepist    |      | But that thou keepest         |
| On to yi future cure, |      | Unto thy future cure,         |
| And ēu hit avail ye   |      | And ever it availe thee       |
| Hit is but aventure.  |      | It is but adventure (chance). |

The following Paper was read :—

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF NATIONAL GROWTH : A CHAPTER IN CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY,\* *by David Buxton, F.R.S.L., Hon. Sec.*

March 19th, 1868. MISCELLANEOUS MEETING.

Rev. Dr. HUME in the Chair.

A numerous company of Members and their friends, including ladies, assembled in the Library to inspect a collection of Antiquities, &c., which had been arranged for this occasion by the Assistant Secretary.

\* Transactions, p. 33.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By J. Harris Gibson, Esq.

1. A collection of War Medals, Naval and Military, including the Papal War Medal of 1860, presented by Pope Pius IX. to a British Officer.
2. Ornaments from the uniform of a Warrington Volunteer, and documents relating to that body signed by the late Lord Palmerston.
3. A complete collection of Copper Coins, from Elizabeth to Victoria.
4. A number of Ancient Pamphlets relating to Lancashire.

By B. L. Benas, Esq.

Military Decorations, from Persia.

By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A.

Numerous Antique Figures, in clay, found in Central America.

By David Buxton, Esq., Honorary Secretary.

A Bible, printed in the Sandwich Islands in the vernacular of that country.

By Mr. C. Dyall, Assistant Secretary.

Copy of the Genealogy of the Hattons, of the County of Chester.

By Mr. Thomas Gibson.

1. A large collection of Dried Wild Plants of the district, with specimens of their seeds (exhibited before).
2. Cases of Foreign Moths and Butterflies.

By Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith.

An impression in gutta-percha of a finely preserved and perfect seal of Shakespeare's celebrated "Prince Hal," executed between the years 1405 and 1413. The original matrix, which is of a mixed metal, probably *latten*, has been twice lost, having disappeared after discovery and publication in the middle of last century, its recovery only dating about twelve years back (Aug. 1855). It bears in the field the effigy of Prince Henry, afterwards Henry V., mounted upon a richly caparisoned charger among trees, his arms occurring no less than four times, viz., upon the shield, and on the breastplate, the tabard, and the housings of the horse. The circumscription reads:—  
 "S'. HENR: PRINCIPIS WALL: DUC. ACQUIT: LANCASTR. AND  
 "CORNNB: COMES CASTR. DE (or ET) DMIO DE KERMERDYNE."  
*"The Seal of Henry, Prince of Wales, Duke of Aquitaine, Lancaster and Cornwall, Earl of Chester and of the Lordship of Carmarthen (or Lord of the Manor of Carmarthen).*

The following Papers were read :—

A DESCRIPTION OF NIAGARA IN THE DEPTH OF WINTER, *by the Rev. Dr. Hume.*

THE LAND AND FRESH-WATER SHELLS OF GREAT BRITAIN,\* *by Mr. Thomas Gibson.*

A DESCRIPTION BY AN EYE-WITNESS OF THE EARTHQUAKE IN THE DANISH WEST INDIA ISLANDS, *read by David Buxton, Esq.*

\* Transactions, p. 325.

*April 2nd, 1868.*

N. WATERHOUSE, Esq., Honorary Librarian, in the Chair.

Mr. James Hewitt, 1, Dover Street, Liverpool, was duly elected an Ordinary Member of the Society.

The following Paper was read :—

ON THE PREPARATIONS MADE IN KENT TO RESIST THE SPANISH ARMADA,\* by *Joseph Mayer, F.S.A.*

---

*April 16th, 1868.*

THOMAS GIBSON, Esq., in the Chair.

The following objects were exhibited :—

Specimens of Roman Pottery, found at Wilderspool, near Warrington, presented to the Society by Dr. Kendrick.

By Mr. H. E. Smith, in illustration of his Paper.

Numerous objects of Antiquarian interest, found during the year on the Cheshire shore.

The following Paper was read :—

ARCHÆOLOGY OF THE MERSEY DISTRICT, 1867,† by *Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith.*

---

*April 30th, 1868.*

A. C. GIBSON, F.S.A., Honorary Curator, in the Chair.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By Mr. J. A. Forrest.

1. A plaster model of a cross, found at Glencairn, now in the possession of Dr. Grierson, of Thornhill, embellished with numerous symbolic figures.
2. A "*Permit*," signed by the poet Burns.

By Mr. Thomas Gibson.

1. A pebble of yellow quartz crystal, found on the Welsh coast.
2. Part of an edged celt or chisel, in fine green *serpentine*.

By Joseph Boulton, Esq., in illustration of his Paper.

1. Tracing of a plan, prepared in 1821, of property offered for sale in Garston.

\* Transactions. p. 191.

† Transactions, p. 87.

2. A copy of *Billinge's Advertiser*, 1798, containing advertisements relating to property for sale in that township at the same period.
3. An engraving from a portrait of Lady Diana Beauclerk, after Sir Joshua Reynolds.

The following Paper was read :—

THE HISTORICAL TOPOGRAPHY OF AIGBURTH AND GARSTON,\* *by Joseph Boulton, Esq., F.R.I.B.A.*

---

May 14th, 1868.

JOSEPH BOULT, Esq., in the Chair.

The following gentlemen were duly elected Ordinary Members of the Society :—

W. G. Wordley, Esq.

Joseph Sillitoe, Esq., Ranelagh Street, Liverpool.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., President.

A Roman Cinerary Urn, recently found at Arles, South of France.

By H. H. Vale, Esq., F.R.I.B.A.

Photographs of Ancient Pottery in the British Museum.

By Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith.

A notice of a tessellated pavement at Caerleon, which displays a central design taken from the celebrated Cretan labyrinth.

The following Paper was read :—

ON THE DISCOVERY OF AN ANCIENT BRITISH CEMETERY AT WAVER-TREE,† *by Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith.*

---

May 28th, 1868. MISCELLANEOUS MEETING.

JOSEPH MAYER, F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By Mr. H. H. Vale.

An ancient steelyard, supposed to be of 15th century manufacture.

By Mr. Thomas Dawson.

1. Numerous water-colour drawings of houses in various localities in Liverpool, lately removed or about to be removed for improvements.
2. A portfolio of original drawings and sketches of local interest.

\* Transactions, p. 147.

† Transactions, p. 131.

By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A.

A curious Astronomical instrument for calculating the position of the stars, supposed to have been in use about the 12th century.

By the Rev. Dr. Hume.

The first volume of the Proceedings of the Historic Society, containing many original letters and documents in connection with the formation of the Society in 1848.

By the Honorary Secretary.

A specimen of Photographic Portraiture.

The following Papers were read :—

ON TOPOGRAPHICAL ETYMOLOGY IN WEST DERBYSHIRE, *by Joseph Boulton, Esq., F.R.I.B.A.*

REMINISCENCES OF TWENTY YEARS AGO; OR FACTS IN CONNECTION WITH THE FORMATION OF THE HISTORIC SOCIETY IN 1848, *by the Rev. Dr. Hume.*

The Twentieth Session was brought to a close by a cordial vote of thanks to the President for his services during the year.

---

## ANNUAL EXCURSION.

The Annual Excursion of the Society took place on Thursday, 30th July, arrangements being made to visit the Ruins of Furness Abbey. About one hundred and twenty Members of the Society and their friends, including many ladies, left Lime Street Station at 8.40 a.m., and arrived at Grange-over-Sands at 12.30 a.m., where arrangements had been made for dining at the New Hotel. The Chair was taken by Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., President of the Society, and the Vice-Chairs were filled by David Buxton, F.R.S.L., Honorary Secretary, and John G. Jacob, Esq., Treasurer. After an excellently-served dinner, Mr. Mayer proposed the health of Her Majesty the Queen and the Royal Family, which was duly honoured. Mr. James Smith gave the toast "Prosperity to the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire," and highly eulogised the President for the gift of his valuable Museum to the town of Liverpool. Mr. Mayer having acknowledged the compliment, Mr. Buxton proposed the toast of "The Visitors," which was responded to in a humorous and effective speech by the Rev. William Huntington, of Manchester. After dinner the party proceeded to Furness by special train at 2.30, where a description of the Ruins was given by Edmund Sharp, Esq.

## ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

---

- Anti-Nicene Christian Library, vols. iii, iv, v, vi; from R. A. Macfie, Esq.
- Ayrton, William, Catalogue of Etchings and Engravings from the collection of.
- Birkenhead Literary and Scientific Society. Proceedings, Tenth Session, 1866-67.
- Continental Coins, Pamphlets on; from C. Roach Smith, Esq.
- Cornwall Polytechnic Society. Report, 1866.
- Geological Society. Quarterly Journals, No. 93.
- Geological and Polytechnic Society of the West Riding of Yorkshire. Report.
- Geographical Society. Proceedings, part 1, vol. xii.
- Gibson, J. H. British War Medals and other Decorations, Military and Naval.
- International Scientific and Archæological Congress of France. Report, 1866.
- Imperial Academy of Arts and Belles Lettres of Caen, Memoir of the. Jewitt, Ll. (Editor). The Reliquary, vol. xii.
- Ladies' and Gentlemen's Diary and Poetical and Mathematical Almanac; from T. T. Wilkinson, Esq.
- Liverpool Architectural and Archæological Society. Proceedings, Twentieth Session.
- Liverpool Architectural and Archæological Society. Proceedings, February 5th and 19th, 1868.
- Liverpool Institute. Forty-third Annual Report.
- Liverpool Literary and Philosophical Society. Proceedings, Fifty-sixth Session, 1865-66.
- Liverpool Medical and Surgical Reports, October, 1867.
- Liverpool Naturalists' Field Club. Report, 1866-67.
- Liverpool Polytechnic Society's Journals.
- Manchester and Liverpool Agricultural Society. Proceedings for 1867-68.
- Manchester Numismatic Society. Proceedings, part 3.
- Newbigging, T. (Author). The History of the Forest of Rossendale.
- Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society. Illustrations of the Rood Screen at Randworth.
- Royal Asiatic Society. Proceedings, vol. ii, part 2.

- Royal Astronomical Society. *Memoirs*, vol. xxxvi.
- Royal Geographical Society. *Proceedings*, vol. ii, part 6.
- Royal Irish Academy. *Proceedings*, vol. ix, part 14.
- Royal Irish Academy. *Transactions (Science)*, parts 7 and 8, vol. xxiv.
- Royal Institution of Cornwall. *Journal*, October, 1867.
- Royal Society. *Proceedings*, Nos. 91 to 97.
- Royal Society of Edinburgh. *Proceedings*, Session 1866-67.
- Sir P. de M. Grey Egerton, Bart., M.P. *Descriptive Catalogue of the Pictures and other works of art at Oulton Park, Cheshire.*
- Smith, H. Eeroyd. *Chromo-lithograph of a Roman-British Mosaic Pavement, found at Alborough, Yorkshire.*
- Smithsonian Institution. *Annual Report of the Board of Regents.*
- Society of Antiquaries (London). *Proceedings*, vols. i, ii.
- Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society. *Proceedings*, 1865-66.
- Society of Arts Journal, Nos. 795 to 801.
- Statistical Society of London. Vol. xxx, part 4, 1867.
- Williams, J. G. *An account of the British Encampments lying between the rivers Rheidol and Llyfnant, in the county of Cardigan, and their connection with the mines.*

# INDEX.

## A

- Adam of Garston's mill, 155  
 ADDRESS TO THE MEMBERS OF THE HISTORIC SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE, by Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., &c., President, 1  
 Additions to the Library, 357, 358  
 Aigburth and Garston, topography of, 147  
 ———— derivation of the name, 147  
 Aiken's description of the country around Manchester, quoted, 23  
 Aldborough, formation of the streets of, 74  
 Ancient Castle at Bury, Lancashire, discovery of, 17  
 Angel Hotel, Derby (1645), 242  
 Annual Report, 345  
 ———— General Meeting, 345  
 ———— Excursion, 356  
 Apple snail, 323  
 ARCHÆOLOGY OF THE MERSEY DISTRICT, 1867, 87  
 ARCHITECTURAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SKETCH OF THE ROMANO-BRITISH PERIOD, WITH REFERENCE TO THE EXCAVATIONS AT WROXETER, 67  
 Architecture in the Lancashire Lake District, 58  
 Arnold, Dr., quoted, 42

## B

- Balance Sheet, 347  
 Bede, quoted, 9  
 Beauclerk, Lady Diana, 166  
 Benas, B. L., 353  
 Boadicea, numbers slain in the revolt of, 6  
 Boulton, Joseph, author of paper, 147, 356; 354, 355  
 Boyle, F., 349  
 Brakell, T., 346  
 British constitution, phenomena attending the growth of the, 34  
 Britain, landing of Hadrian in, 7; garrison of, A.D. 119, 7  
 British Fleet, first historical mention of, 8  
 Bridges in the English lake district, 61  
 Brindled snail, 331  
 Buildings in Britain during its occupation by the Romans, 67  
 Bury, engagements fought in the neighbourhood of, 26; early history of, 20; discovery of ancient castle at, 17; first historical mention of ancient castle, 21; probable builders of, 22; curious traditions concerning, 23  
 ———— family, traditions of, 27  
 Burke's orders of knighthood referred to, 14  
 Burke, W., 347  
 Buxton, David, F.R.S.L., author of paper, 33; 351, 353

## C

- Caledonians, condition of the, in A.D. 85, 5  
 Calder Stones, 138  
 Carving on stone by the Greenlanders, 220  
 CHARACTERISTICS OF NATIONAL GROWTH: A CHAPTER IN CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY, 33  
 Changes, danger of precipitancy in, 39

- Cinerary urns, localities where found, 143  
 ———— discovery and destruction of at Wavertree, 87  
 Civilization, progress and development of, 215  
 Consonants lost from the English tongue, 10  
 Corn tithes in Britain in the time of the Romans, 72  
 Costume in various countries, 260, 268  
 Couches Book, The, quoted, 148  
 Croxton family, arms and pedigree of, 95  
 Curwens of Workington, armorial bearings of the, 64

## D

- Dawson, Thomas, 355  
 ————, Henry, 346  
 Darwin's theory of the origin of species, remarks on, 4  
 Denmark, peat fields of, animals formerly existing in, 2  
 Deserts of South America, cause of dearth of rain in, 226  
 Duddon river, rise of the, 52  
 Duck mussel, 340  
 Dyall, C., 353

## E

- Ellerbeck, J. T., 349  
 Elsby, Miles P., 349  
 English tongue, restoration of the to its original purity necessary to its preservation, 12; attempt to restore the lost letters of the, 9; difficulties of learning the, 9; consonants lost from the, 10; uselessness of many of the sounds of the, 11  
 English character, formation of, 33  
 ———— houses in the 15th century, 238  
 Eyes' survey of the Port of Liverpool, quoted, 160

## F

- Feudalism, Chivalry, and the Crusades, results of, 42  
 Farm house in Cumberland, description of, 60  
 Feudalism, influence of upon the Crusades, 41  
 ———— and Chivalry, fitness of in their times, 41  
 Flemings of Coniston, armorial bearings of the, 63  
 Flint arrow-heads of South America, 300  
 Forrest, J. A., 354

## G

- Garston and Aigburth, topography of, 147  
 Garston, fishyards at in 1793, 164; encroachment of the tide at, 190; purchase of the manorial rights of, 167  
 Garden snail, 333  
 Gibson, A. Craig, F.S.A., author of paper, 47, 351, 354  
 Gibson, T., author of paper, 325, 353, 354  
 Gibson, J. Harris, author of paper, 13, 349, 353  
 Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, quoted, 9  
 Grain rubber or quern of South America, 279  
 Grassendale, signification of, 176

## H

- Hadrian, landing of in Britain, 7; wall of, 5  
 Hardwick, Charles, author of paper, 17, 349  
 Hardman family, pedigree of the, 185  
 Hewitt, J., 354  
 Heraldry of the lake district, 63  
 HISTORICAL TOPOGRAPHY OF AIGBURTH AND GARSTON, 147  
 Hooker, Dr., quoted, 221  
 Houses in South America, 227  
 Hoylake, Roman port at or near, 92  
 Hume, Rev. Dr. &c., author of papers, 215, 348, 349, 351, 353, 356  
 Hughes, J. R., 351  
 Hume (the historian), his authorities questioned, 1  
 Humberdale, signification of, 157

## I

- ILLUSTRATIONS OF BRITISH ANTIQUITIES, DERIVED FROM OBJECTS FOUND IN SOUTH AMERICA, 215  
 Indians of the Rocky Mountains, 219  
 Institutions of the past and present, comparison of the, 34  
 Iron, use of in Africa and Asia, 220

## J

- Jacob, J. G., 346  
 Jones, Rev. C., 349

## K

- Kentish Levies, 194; accoutrements and arms of, 199, 202; training of, 196; mode of drilling the, 206  
 Kilpin, T. J., 352  
 Kjökkenmoddens, The, of Denmark, 2

## L

- LAKELAND OF LANCASHIRE, NO. IV., 47  
 Lancashire, cliffs and waterfalls of, 49  
 LAND AND FRESH WATER SHELLS OF GREAT BRITAIN, 325  
 Land mollusks, 327  
 Law, necessary to the full development of liberty, 44  
 Liberty, tentative and experimental efforts after, and abuse of, 37  
 Liberty of nations, advantages of gradual growth of the, 38  
 Long bow, attempt to restore the use of in England, 211  
 Lubbock's *Pre-historic Times* referred to, 6

## M

- Mackintosh, Sir James, quoted, 42  
 Man, progress of, towards civilization, 2  
 Mammalian remains found on the Cheshire shore, 127, 130  
 M'Quie, Peter, chairman at annual meeting, 345  
 Mathison, Wm., 349, 350  
 Mayer, Joseph, F.S.A., author of paper, 1, 191, 348, 353, 354, 355, 356  
 Medals, their value as historical records, 13  
 ———, Addison quoted on the usefulness of, 13  
 Mediæval remains, miscellaneous importation of, 99  
 ——— tile found at Bebington, 98

- Mediæval objects found on the Cheshire shore, catalogue of, 103, 127  
 Migration, theories of national, 4  
 Military and naval decorations, notes on, 13  
 Monosyllables, anecdote of the beauty and music of, 11

## N

- Nations, growth and development of, 38  
 National progress, advantages of obstruction in, 40  
 ——— migrations, 3  
 Naval and military decorations, notes on, 13  
 NOTES UPON WAR MEDALS, NAVAL AND MILITARY, 13

## O

- Old hall of Aigburth, 154  
 Old well at Wavertree Green, 139  
 Old English signet ring found in Cheshire, 96  
 Olden times, benefits derived from, 43  
 ON THE PREPARATIONS OF THE COUNTY OF KENT TO RESIST THE SPANISH ARMADA, 191  
 Origin of species, remarks on, 4  
 Ossuaries found at Wavertree, 131  
 Order of Pius IX. described, 14  
 ON THE ANCIENT CASTLE AT BURY, LANCASHIRE, 17

## P

- Papal war medal of 1860 described, 15  
 Parliamentary forces (1642), fortified towns held by, 26  
 Penningtons of Pennington and Muncaster, armorial bearings of the, 65  
 Petty, Sir Wm., quoted, 244  
 Pickering, James, 349  
 Pottery in South America, 282  
 Pottery, Roman-British, 82  
 Political institutions of England, suitability of, 36  
 ——— development of, 36  
 Pre-Celtic urns, 142  
 Primeval forests in South America, 222

## R

- Rathbone, Wm., 351  
 Ravenscroft, derivation of the name, 95  
 Rocherake, The, 156  
 Roman-British roads, 83  
 ——— towns, mode of supplying water to, 79  
 ——— burials, 84  
 Roman coins found at Formby, 90  
 ——— coin found in Parliament fields, 89  
 ——— cities in Britain, probable method of founding, 68  
 ——— masonry in Britain, characteristics of, 69  
 ——— remains at Wilderspool, 88

## S

- Sansom, T., 346  
 Saxon urns, 274  
 "Savoy lands" at Garston, 173  
 Seathwaite, description of scenery in, 55  
 Sepulchral remains found at Wavertree, summary of remarks concerning, 145  
 Shell-mounds, 2  
 Shells (land and fresh water), of Great Britain, Generic and Specific, names of, 343  
 Shrub snail, 334

Shore at Garston, encroachments of the water on the, 168

Signet ring, found on the Cheshire shore, 88

Sillitoe, Joseph, 355

Skaife, T., 350

Smith, H. Ecroyd, author of paper, 87, 131, 305, 348, 353, 354, 355

South America, tobacco pipes used in, 305; domestic, personal, and miscellaneous implements of, 302; arms used in, 299; ploughs used in, 297; horse furniture and equipments of oxen in, 285; mode of cooking in, 235; weaving and spinning in, 258; pottery in, 281; costume in, 260; shoes of, 272; food and implements of, 273; clothing worn in, 248; sands of, 225; mosses, 223; cooking utensils of, 231; houses of, 227

Soil, rapid accumulation of round old buildings, 80

Southey, quoted, 42

Spanish armada, The, 191

Spinning, mode of, by Indians of South America, 252

Subterranean forests, 221, 223

Swan mussel, 340

## T

Tacitus quoted, 6

Thomson's theory of national development examined, 217

Thierry, M., quoted, 234

Tilberthwaite, description of the vale of, 48

Toxteth, derivation of the name, 147

Train bands (1583), 192

——— mode of drilling in the time of Elizabeth, 211

Traditionary lore, incongruity in, 24

Tristram, Rev. H. B., quoted, 227

Twisden papers, quoted, 191

## U

United Service Magazine referred to, 14

Uriconium, meaning of the name, 73; form of the houses of, 75; mode of warming houses in, 78; description of archæological objects found at, 80

## V

Vale, Henry H., F.R.I.B.A., author of paper, 67, 350, 355

## W

Walmsley, G. G., 349

Water mollusks, 327

Waterhouse, N., 354

Walton church, 148

Walna Scar, Lancashire, supposed remains of an ancient British town at, 56

War medals, naval and military, notes on, 13

WAVERTREE, ANCIENT-BRITISH CEMETERY AT, 131

——— an ancient British settlement, 140  
——— hall, 170

Weaving and spinning in the 15th century, 257

Western Africa, inhabitants of, 219

Westminster Abbey, as exemplifying the old and the new in national institutions, 45

Wilkinson, T. T., 349

Wood snail, 332

Wordley, W. G., 355

Wright's *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, quoted, 75

Wroxeter, architectural archæology of, 73

Wrynose Pass, Lancashire, ancient mode of travelling in, 52

## Y

Yewdale, vale of, described, 48

## Z

Zebra Mussel, 341

FINIS.













